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# Two Centuries of Costume in America

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Madam Padishal and Child.

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# TWO CENTURIES OF COSTUME IN AMERICA

MDCXX—MDCCCXX

BY

ALICE MORSE EARLE

AUTHOR OF "SUN-DIALS AND ROSES OF YESTERDAY"
"OLD TIME GARDENS," ETC.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE

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*To*

# *George P. Brett*

*"An honeſt Stationer (or Publisher) is he, that exercizeth his Myſtery (vvhether it be in printing, bynding or sélling of Bookes) vvith more reſpect to the glory of God & the publike aduantage than to his ovvne Commodity & is both an ornament & a profitable member in a ciuill Commonvvealth. . . . If he be a Printer he makes conſcience to exemplefy his Coppy fayrely & truly. If he be a Booke-bynder, he is no meere Bookeſeller (that is) one vvho ſelleth meerely ynck & paper bundled up together for his ovvne aduantage only: but he is a Chapman of Arts, of vviſdome, & of much experience for a little money. . . . The reputation of Schollers is as deare unto him as his ovvne: For, he acknovvledgeth that from them his Myſtery had both begining and means of continuance. He heartely loues & seekes the Proſperity of his ovvne Corporation: Yet he vvould not iniure the Uniuerſityes to aduantage it. In a vvord, he is such a man that the State ought to cheriſh him; Schollers to loue him; good Cuſtomers to frequent his shopp; and the vvhole Company of Stationers to pray for him."*

— George Wither, 1625.

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MADAM PADISHAL AND CHILD . . . . . *Frontispiece*

This fine presentation of the dress of a gentlewoman and infant child, in the middle of the seventeenth century, hung in old Plymouth homes in the Thomas and Stevenson families till it came by inheritance to the present owner, Mrs. Greely Stevenson Curtis of Boston, Mass. The artist is unknown.

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Born in Dorchester, Eng., 1589. Died in Boston, Mass., 1665. He emigrated to America in 1628; became governor of the colony in 1644, and was major-general of the colonial troops. He hated Indians, the Church of Rome, and Quakers. He wears a velvet skull-cap, and a finger-ring, which is somewhat unusual; a square band; a richly fringed and embroidered glove; and a "stiletto" beard. This portrait is in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

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Owned by Miss Alice Browne of Salem, Mass.

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CHILD'S CLOGS . . . . . 370
About 1780. Owned by Bucks County Historical Society.

COPLEY FAMILY PICTURE . . . . . *facing* 374
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Owned by author.

# Two Centuries of Costume in America

Vol. I

# CHAPTER I

## APPAREL OF THE PURITAN AND PILGRIM FATHERS

"*Deep-skirted doublets, puritanic capes*
*Which now would render men like upright apes*
*Was comelier wear, our wiser fathers thought*
*Than the cast fashions from all Europe brought.*"

—"New England's Crisis," BENJAMIN TOMPSON, 1675.

"*I am neither Niggard nor Cynic to the due Bravery of the true Gentry.*" —"The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," J. WARD, 1713.

"*Never was it happier in England than when an Englishman was known abroad by his own cloth; and contented himself at home with his fine russet carsey hosen, and a warm slop; his coat, gown, and cloak of brown, blue or putre, with some pretty furnishings of velvet or fur, and a doublet of sad-tawnie or black velvet or comely silk, without such cuts and gawrish colours as are worn in these dayes by those who think themselves the gayest men when they have most diversities of jagges and changes of colours.*"

—"Chronicles," HOLINSHED, 1578.

PROPERTY OF
THE ACTORS' EQUITY AS

# Two Centuries of Costume

## CHAPTER I

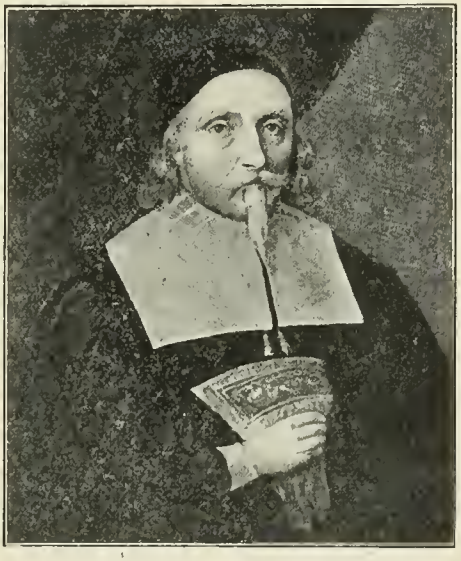
### APPAREL OF THE PURITAN AND PILGRIM FATHERS

IT is difficult to discover the reasons, to trace the influences which have resulted in the production in the modern mind of that composite figure which serves to the everyday reader, the heedless observer, as the counterfeit presentment of the New England colonist, — the Boston Puritan or Plymouth Pilgrim. We have a very respectable notion, a fairly true picture, of Dutch patroon, Pennsylvania Quaker, and Virginia planter; but we see a very unreal New Englishman. This "gray old Gospeller, sour as midwinter," appears with goodwife or dame in the hastily drawn illustrations of our daily press; we find him outlined with greater care but equal inaccuracy in our choicer periodical literature; we have him depicted by artists in our handsome books and on the walls of our art museums; he is cut in stone and cast in bronze for our halls and parks; he is dressed by actors for a part in some historical play; he is furbished up with conglomerate and makeshift garments by enthusiastic and confident young folk in tableau and

fancy-dress party; he is richly and amply attired by portly, self-satisfied members of our patriotic-hereditary societies; we constantly see these figures garbed in semblance in some details, yet never in verisimilitude as a whole figure.

We are wont to think of our Puritan forbears, indeed we are determined to think of them, garbed in sombre sad-colored garments, in a life devoid of color, warmth, or fragrance. But sad color was not dismal and dull save in name; it was brown in tone, and brown is warm, and being a primitive color is, like many primitive things, cheerful. Old England was garbed in hearty honest russet, even in the days of our colonization. Read the list of the garments of any master of the manor, of the honest English yeoman, of our own sturdy English emigrants from manor and farm in Suffolk and Essex. What did they wear across seas? What did they wear in the New World? What they wore in England, namely: Doublets of leathers, all brown in tint; breeches of various tanned skins and hides; untanned leather shoes; jerkins of "filomot" or "phillymort" (feuille morte), dead-leaf color; buff-coats of fine buff leather; tawny camlet cloaks and jackets of "du Boys" (which was wood color); russet hose; horseman's coats of tan-colored linsey-woolsey or homespun ginger-lyne or brown perpetuana; fawn-colored mandillions and deer-colored cassocks — all brown; and sometimes a hat of natural beaver. Here is a "falding" doublet of "treen color" — and what is treen but wooden and wood color is brown again.

It was a fitting dress for their conditions of life. The colonists lived close to nature — they touched the beginnings of things; and we are close to nature when all dress in russet. The homely "butternuts" of the Kentucky mountains express this; so too does khaki, a good, simple native dye and stuff; so eagerly welcomed, so closely cherished, as all good and primitive things should be.



Governor John Endicott.

So when I think of my sturdy Puritan forbears in the summer planting of Salem and of Boston, I see them in "honest russet kersey"; gay too with the bright stamell-red of their waistcoats and the grain-red linings of mandillions; scarlet-capped are they, and enlivened with many a great scarlet-hooded cloak. I see them in this attire on shipboard, where they were greeted off Salem with "a smell from the shore like the smell of a garden"; I see them landing in happy June amid "sweet wild strawberries and fair single roses." I see them walking along the little lanes and half-streets in which for many years bayberry and sweet-fern lingered in dusty fragrant clumps by the roadside.

"Scented with Cædar and Sweet Fern
From Heats reflection dry,"

wrote of that welcoming shore one colonist who came on the first ship, and noted in rhyme what he found and saw and felt and smelt. And I see the forefathers standing under the hot little cedar trees of the Massachusetts coast, not sober in sad color, but cheery in russet and scarlet; and sweetbrier and strawberries, bayberry and cedar, smell sweetly and glow genially in that summer sunlight which shines down on us through all these two centuries.

We have ample sources from which to learn precisely what was worn by these first colonists — men and women — gentle and simple. We have minute "Lists of Apparell" furnished by the Colonization Companies to the male colonists; we have also ample lists of apparel supplied to individual emigrants of varied degree; we have inventories in detail of the personal estates of all those who died in the colonies even in the earliest years — inventories wherein even a half-worn pair of gloves is gravely set down, appraised in value, sworn to, and entered in the town records; we have wills giving equal minuteness; we have even the articles of dress themselves preserved from moth and rust and mildew; we have private letters asking that supplies of clothing be sent across seas — clothing substantial and clothing fashionable; we have ships' bills of lading showing that these orders were carried out; we have curiously minute private letters giving quaint descriptions and hints of new and modish wearing apparel; we have sumptuary laws telling what articles of clothing must not be worn by those of mean estate; we have court records showing trials

under these laws; we have ministers' sermons denouncing excessive details of fashion, enumerating and almost describing the offences; and we have also a goodly number of portraits of men and a few of women. I give in this chapter excellent portraits of the first governors, Endicott, Winthrop, Bradstreet, Winslow; and others could be added. Having all these, do we need fashion-plates or magazines of the modes? We have also for the early years great instruction through comparison and inference in knowing the English fashions of those dates as revealed through inventories, compotuses, accounts, diaries, letters, portraits, prints, carvings, and effigies; and American fashions varied little from English ones.

Governor Edward Winslow.

It is impossible to disassociate the history of costume from the general history of the country where such dress is worn. Nor could any one write upon dress with discrimination and balance unless he knew thoroughly the dress of all countries and likewise the history of all countries. Of the special country, he must know more than general history, for the relations of small things to great things are too close. Influences apparently remote prove vital. At no

time was history told in dress, and at no period was dress influenced by historical events more than during the seventeenth century and in the dress of English-speaking folk. The writer on dress should know the temperament and character of the dress wearer; this was of special bearing in the seventeenth century. It would be thought by any one ignorant of the character of the first Puritan settlers, and indifferent to or ignorant of historical facts, that in a new world with all the hardships, restraints, lacks, and inconveniences, no one, even the vainest woman, would think much upon dress, save that it should be warm, comfortable, ample, and durable. But, in truth, such was not the case. Even in the first years the settlers paid close attention to their attire, to its richness, its elegance, its modishness, and watched narrowly also the attire of their neighbors, not only from a distinct liking for dress, but from a careful regard of social distinctions and from a regard for the proprieties and relations of life. Dress was a badge of rank, of social standing and dignity; and class distinctions were just as zealously guarded in America, the land of liberty, as in England. The Puritan church preached simplicity of dress; but the church attendants never followed that preaching. All believed, too, that dress had a moral effect, as it certainly does; that to dress orderly and well and convenable to the existing fashions helped to preserve the morals of the individual and general welfare of the community. Eagerly did the settlers seek every year, every season, by every incoming ship, by every traveller, to learn the changes of fash-

ions in Europe. The first native-born poet, Benjamin Tompson, is quoted in the heading of this chapter in a wail over thus following new fashions, a wail for the "good old times," as has been the cry of "old fogy" poets and philosophers since the days of the ancient classics.

We have ample proof of the love of dignity, of form, of state, which dominated even in the first struggling days; we can see the governor of Virginia when he landed, turning out his entire force in most formal attire and with full company of forty halberdiers in scarlet cloaks to attend in imposing procession the church services in the poor little church edifice — this when the settlement at Jamestown was scarce more than an encampment.

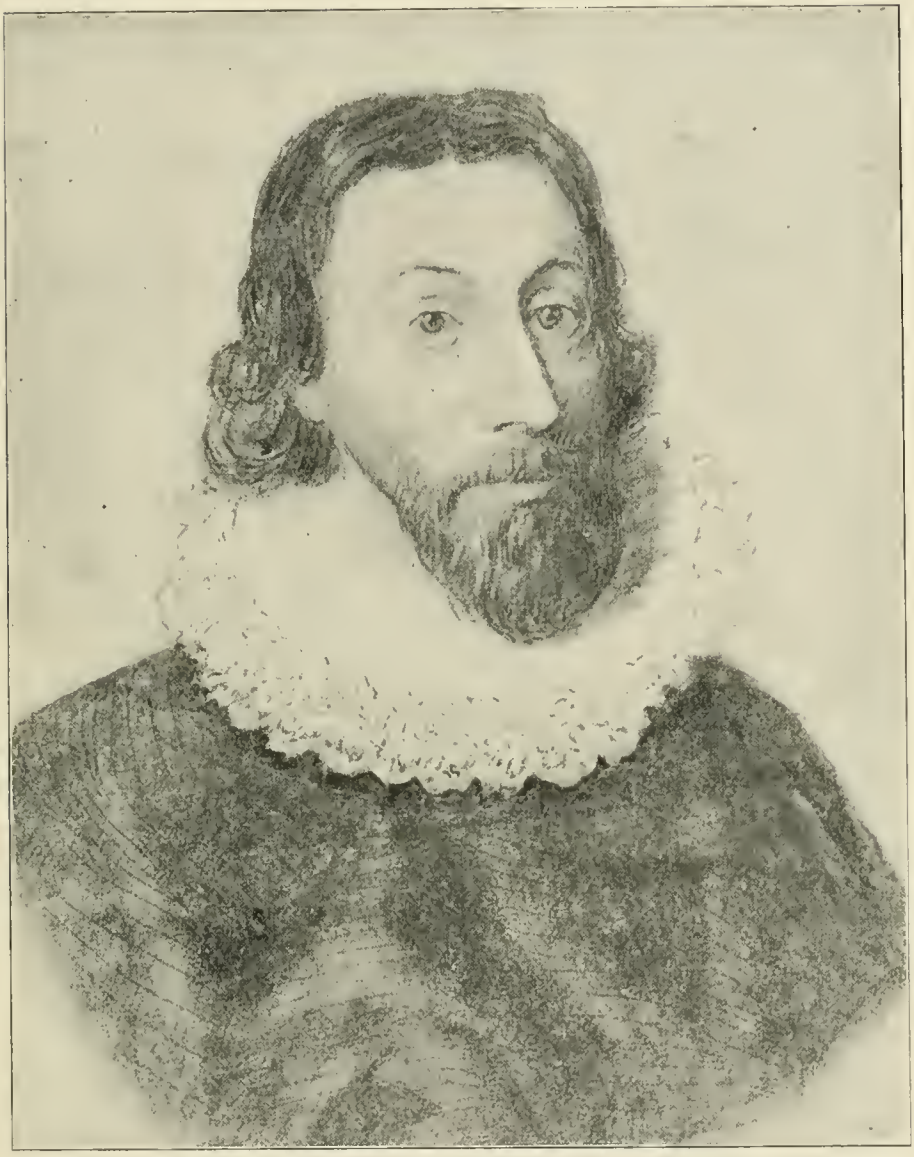
We can read the words of Winthrop, the governor of Massachusetts, in which he recounts his mortification at the undignified condition of affairs when the governor of the French province, the courtly La Tour, landed unexpectedly in Boston and caught the governor picnicking peacefully with his family on an island in the harbor, with no attendants, no soldiers, no dignitaries. Nor was there any force in the fort, and therefore no salute could be given to the distinguished visitors; and still more mortifying was the sole announcement of this important arrival through the hurried sail across the bay, and the running to the governor of a badly scared woman neighbor. We see Winthrop trying to recover his dignity in La Tour's eyes (and in his own) by bourgeoning throughout the remainder of the French governor's stay with an

imposing guard of soldiers in formal attendance at every step he took abroad; ordering them to wear, I am sure, their very fullest stuffed doublets and shiniest armor, while he displayed his best black velvet suit of garments. Fortunately for New England's appearance, Winthrop was a man of such aristocratic bearing and feature that no dress or lack of dress could lower his dignity.

Our forbears did not change their dress by emigrating; they may have worn heavier clothing in New England, more furs, stronger shoes, but I cannot find that they adopted simpler or less costly clothing; any change that may have been made through Puritan belief and teaching had been made in England. All the colonists

> "... studied after nyce array,
> And made greet cost in clothing."

Many persons preferred to keep their property in the form of what they quaintly called "duds." The fashion did not wear out more apparel than the man; for clothing, no matter what its cut, was worn as long as it lasted, doing service frequently through three generations. For instance, we find Mrs. Epes, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, when she was over fifty years old, receiving this bequest by will: "If she desire to have the suit of damask which was the Lady Cheynies her grandmother, let her have it upon appraisement." I have traced a certain flowered satin gown and "manto" in four wills; a dame to her daughter; she to her sister; then to the child of the last-named who was a granddaugh-



Governor John Winthrop.

ter of the first owner. And it was a proud possession to the last. The fashions and shapes then did not change yearly. The Boston gentlewoman of

1660 would not have been ill dressed or out of the mode in the dress worn by her grandmother when she landed in 1625.

Petty details were altered in woman's dress — though but slightly; the change of a cap, a band, a scarf, a ruffle, meant much to the wearer, though it seems unimportant to us to-day. Men's dress, we know from portraits, was unaltered for a time save in neckwear and hair-dressing, both being of such importance in costume that they must be written upon at length.

Let us fix in our minds the limit of reign of each ruler during the early years of colonization, and the dates of settlement of each colony. When Elizabeth died in 1603, the Brownist Puritans or Separatists were well established in Holland; they had been there twenty years. They were dissatisfied with their Dutch home, however, and had had internal quarrels — one, of petty cause, namely, a "topish Hatt," a "Schowish Hood," a "garish spitz-fashioned Stomacher," the vain garments of one woman; but the strife over these "abhominations" lasted eleven years.

James I was king when the Pilgrims came to America in 1620; but Charles I was on the throne in 1630 when John Winthrop arrived with his band of friends and followers and settled in Salem and Boston.

The settlement of Portsmouth and Dover in New Hampshire was in 1623, and in Maine the same year. The settlements of the Dutch in New Netherland were in 1614; while Virginia, named for Eliza-

beth, the Virgin Queen, and discovered in her day, was settled first of all at Jamestown in 1607. The Plymouth colony was poor. It came poor from Holland, and grew poorer through various misfortunes and set-backs — one being the condition of the land near Plymouth. The Massachusetts Bay Company was different. It came with properties estimated to be worth a million dollars, and it had prospered wonderfully after an opening year of want and distress. The relative social condition and means of the settlers of Jamestown, of Plymouth, of Boston, were carefully investigated from English sources by a thoughtful and fair authority, the historian Green. He says of the Boston settlers in his *Short History of the English People*: —

"Those Massachusetts settlers were not like the earlier colonists of the South; broken men, adventurers, bankrupts, criminals; or simply poor men and artisans like the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower*. They were in great part men of the professional and middle classes; some of them men of large landed estate, some zealous clergymen, some shrewd London lawyers or young scholars from Oxford. The bulk were God-fearing farmers from Lincolnshire and the Eastern counties."

A full comprehension of these differences in the colonies will make us understand certain conditions, certain surprises, as to dress; for instance, why so little of the extreme Puritan is found in the dress of the first Boston colonists.

There lived in England, near the close of Elizabeth's reign, a Puritan named Philip Stubbes, to

whom we are infinitely indebted for our knowledge of English dress of his times. It was also the dress of the colonists; for details of attire, especially of men's wear, had not changed to any extent since the years in which and of which Philip Stubbes wrote.

He published in 1586 a book called *An Anatomie of Abuses*, in which he described in full the excesses of England in his day. He wrote with spirited, vivid pen, and in plain speech, leaving nothing unspoken lest it offend, and he used strong, racy English words and sentences. In his later editions he even took pains to change certain "strange, inkhorn terms" or complicate words of his first writing into simpler ones. Thus he changed *preter time* to *former ages; auditory* to *hearers; prostrated* to *humbled; consummate* to *ended;* and of course this was to the book's advantage. Unusual words still linger, however, but we must believe they are not intentionally "outlandish," as was the term of the day for such words.

The attitude of Stubbes toward dress and dress wearers is of great interest, for he was certainly one of the most severe, most determined, most conscientious of Puritans; yet his hatred of "corruptions desiring reformation" did not lead him to a hatred of dress in itself. He is careful to state in detail in the body of his book and in his preface that his attack is not upon the dress of people of wealth and station; that he approves of rich dress for the rich. His hatred is for the pretentious dress of the many men of low birth or of mean estate who lavish their all in dress ill suited to their station; and also his

Governor Simon Bradstreet.

reproof is for swindling in dress materials and dress-making; against false weights and measures, adulterations and profits; in short, against abuses, not uses.

His words run thus explicitly: —

"Whereas I have spoken of the excesse in apparell, and of the Abuse of the same as wel in Men as in Women, generally I would not be so understood as though my speaches extended to any either noble honorable or worshipful; for I am farre from once thinking that any kind of sumptuous or gorgeous Attire is not to be worn of them; as I suppose them rather Ornaments in them than otherwise. And therefore when I speak of excesse of Apparel

my meaning is of the inferiour sorte only who for the most parte do farre surpasse either noble honorable or worshipful, ruffling in Silks Velvets, Satens, Damaske, Taffeties, Gold Silver and what not; these bee the Abuses I speak of, these bee the Evills that I lament, and these bee the Persons my wordes doe concern."

There was ample room for reformation from Stubbes's point of view.

"There is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell and such preponderous excess thereof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he has himself or can get by anie kind of means. So that it is verie hard to know who is noble, who is worshipful, who is a gentleman, who is not; for you shall have those who are neither of the nobilytie, gentilitie, nor yeomanrie goe daylie in silks velvets satens damasks taffeties notwithstanding they be base by byrth, meane by estate and servyle by calling. This a great confusion, a general disorder. God bee mercyfull unto us."

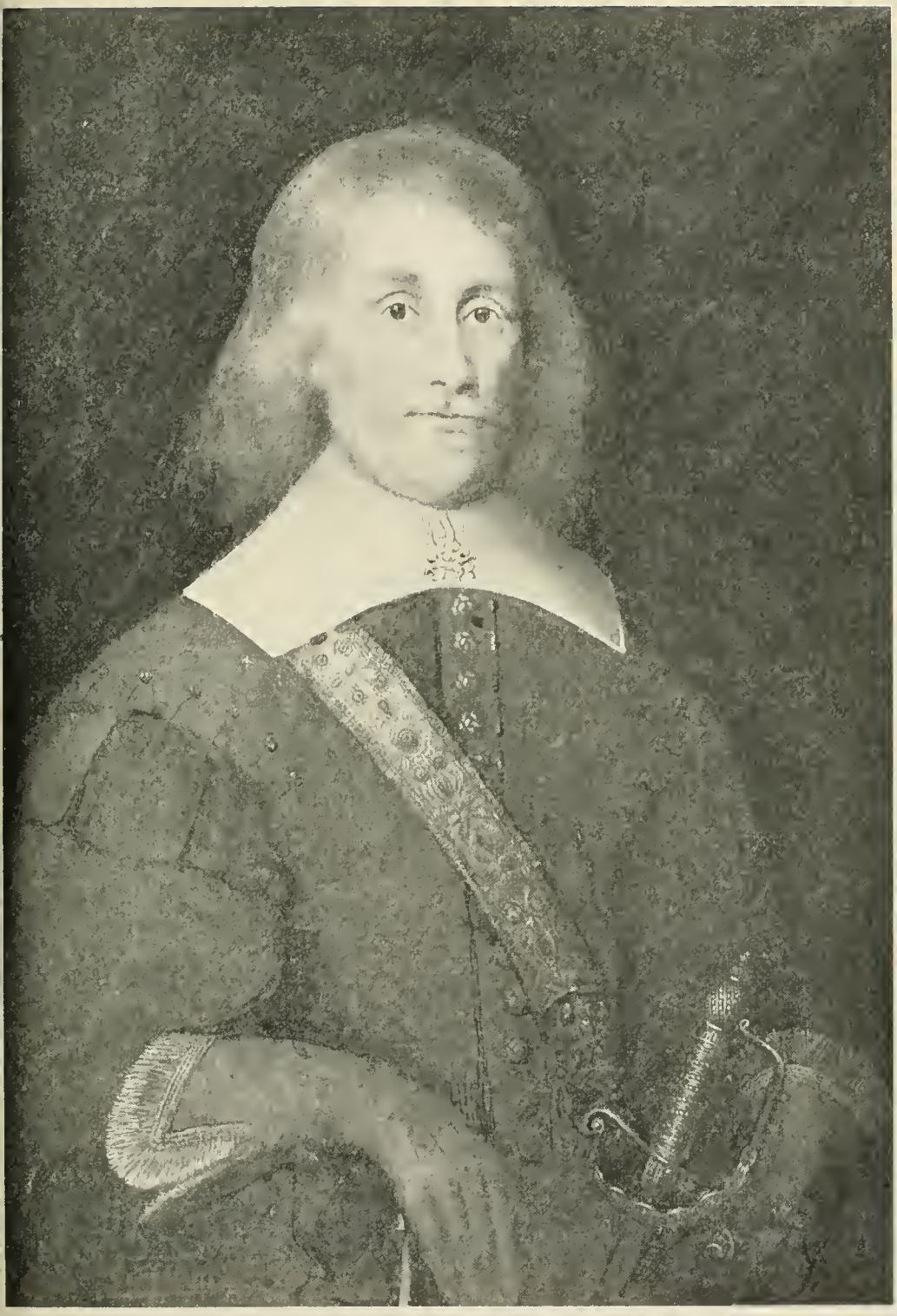
This regard of dress was, I take it, the regard of the Puritan reformer in general; it was only excess in dress that was hated. This was certainly the estimate of the best of the Puritans, and it was certainly the belief of the New England Puritan. It would be thought, and was thought by some men, that in the New World liberty of religious belief and liberty of dress would be given to all. Not at all! —the Puritan magistrates at once set to work to show, by means of sumptuary laws, rules of town settlement, and laws as to Sunday observance and religious services, that nothing of the kind was expected or intended, or would be permitted willingly.

No religious sects and denominations were welcome save the Puritans and allied forms — Brownists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists. For a time none other were permitted to hold services; no one could wear rich dress save gentlefolk, and folk of wealth or some distinction — as Stubbes said, "by being in some sort of office."

We shall find in the early pages of this book frequent references to Stubbes's descriptions of articles of dress, but his own life has some bearing on his utterances; so let me bear testimony as to his character and to the absolute truth of his descriptions. He was held up in his own day to contempt by that miserable Thomas Nashe who plagiarized his title and helped his own dull book into popularity by calling it *The Anatomie of Absurdities;* and who further ran on against him in a still duller book, *An Almand for a Parrat.* He called Stubbes "A Mar-Prelate Zealot and Hypocrite," and Stubbes has been held up by others as a morose man having no family ties and no social instincts. He was in reality the tenderest of husbands to a modest, gentle, pious girl whom he married when she was but fourteen, and with whom he lived in ideal happiness until her death in child-birth when eighteen years old. He bore testimony to his happiness and her goodness in a loving but sad and trying book "intituled" *A Christiall Glasse for Christian Women.* It is a record of a life which was indeed pure as crystal; a life so retiring, so quiet, so composed, so unvarying, a life so remote from any gentlewoman's life to-day that it seems of another ether, another planet,

as well as of another century. But it is useful for us to know it, notwithstanding its background of gloomy religionism and its air of unreality; for it helps us to understand the character of Puritan women and of Philip Stubbes. This fair young wife died in an ecstasy, her voice triumphant, her face radiant with visions of another and a glorious life. And yet she was not wholly happy in death; for she had a Puritan conscience, and she thought she *must* have offended God in some way. She had to search far indeed for the offence; and this was it — it would be absurd if it were not so true and so deep in its sentiment of regret. She and her husband had set their hearts too much in affection upon a little dog that they had loved well, and she found now that "it was a vanitye"; and she repented of it, and bade them bear the dog from her bedside. Knowing Stubbes's love for this little dog (and knowing it must have been a spaniel, for they were then being well known and beloved and were called "Spaniel-gentles or comforters" — a wonderfully appropriate name), I do not much mind the fierce words with which he stigmatizes the vanity and extravagance of women. I have a strong belief too that if we knew the dress of his child-wife, we would find that he liked her bravely even richly attired, and that he acquired his wonderful mastery of every term and detail of women's dress, every term of description, through a very uxorious regard of his wife's apparel.

Of the absolute truth of every word in Stubbes's accounts we have ample corroborative proof. He



Sir Richard Saltonstall.

wrote in real earnest, in true zeal, for the reform of the foolery and extravagance he saw around him, not against imaginary evils. There is ample proof in the writings of his contemporaries — in Shakespere's comparisons, in Harrison's sensible *Description of England*, in Tom Coryat's *Crudities* — and oddities — of the existence of this foolishness and extravagance. There is likewise ample proof in the sumptuary laws of Elizabeth's day.

It would have been the last thing the solemn Stubbes could have liked or have imagined, that he should have afforded important help to future writers upon costume, yet such is the case. For he described the dress of English men and women with as much precision as a modern reporter of the modes. No casual survey of dress could have furnished to him the detail of his description. It required much examination and inquiry, especially as to the minutiæ of women's dress. Therefore when I read his bitter pages (if I can forget the little pet spaniel) I have always a comic picture in my mind of a sour, morose, shocked old Puritan, "a meer, bitter, narrow-sould Puritan," clad in cloak and doublet, with great horn spectacles on nose, and ample note-book, penner, and ink-horn in hand, agonizingly though eagerly surveying the figure of one of his fashion-clad women neighbors, walking around her slowly, asking as he walked the name of this jupe, the price of that pinner, the stuff of this sleeve, the cut of this cap, groaning as he wrote it all down, yet never turning to squire or knight till every detail of her extravagance and "greet cost" is recorded. In spite of all

his moralizing his quill pen had too sharp a point, his scowling forehead and fierce eyes too keen a power of vision ever to render to us a dull page; even the author of *Wimples and Crisping Pins* might envy his powers of perception and description.

The bravery of the Jacobean gallant did not differ in the main from his dress under Elizabeth; but in details he found some extravagances. The love-locks became more prominent, and shoe-roses and garters both grew in size. Pomanders were carried by men and women, and "casting-bottles." Gloves and pockets were perfumed. As musk was the favorite scent this perfume-wearing is not over-alluring. As a preventive of the plague all perfumes were valued.

Since a hatred and revolt against this excess was one of the conditions which positively led to the formation of the Puritan political party if not of the Separatist religious faith, and as a consequence to the settlement of the English colonies in America, let us recount the conditions of dress in England when America was settled. Let us regard first the dress of a courtier whose name is connected closely and warmly in history and romance with the colonization of America; a man who was hated by the Pilgrim and Puritan fathers but whose dress in some degree and likeness, though modified and simplified, must have been worn by the first emigrants to Virginia across seas — let us look at the portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh. He was a hero and a scholar, but he was also a courtier; and of a court, too, where every court-attendant had to bethink himself much

and ever of dress, for dress occupied vastly the thought and almost wholly the public conversation of his queen and her successor.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

To understand Raleigh's dress, you must know the man and his life; to comprehend its absurdities and forgive its follies and see whence it originated, you must know Elizabeth and her dress; you must see her with "oblong face, eyes small, yet black; her nose a little hooked, her lips narrow, her teeth black; false hair and that red," — these are the striking and plain words of the German ambassador to her court. You must look at this queen with her colorless meagre person lost in a dress monstrous in size, yet hung, even in its enormous expanse of many square yards, with crowded ornaments, tags, jewels, laces, em-

broideries, gimp, feathers, knobs, knots, and aglets, with these bedizened rankly, embellished richly. You must see her talking in public of buskins and gowns, love-locks and virginals, anything but matters of seriousness or of state; you must note her at a formal ceremonial tickling handsome Dudley in the neck; watch her dancing, "most high and disposedly" when in great age; you must see her giving Essex a hearty boxing of the ear; hear her swearing at her ministers. You must remember, too, her parents, her heritage. From King Henry VIII came her love of popularity, her great activity, her extraordinary self-confidence, her indomitable will, her outbursts of anger, her cruelty, just as came her harsh, mannish voice. From her mother, Anne Boleyn, came her sensuous love of pleasure, of dress, of flattery, of gayety and laughter. Her nature came from her mother, her temper from her father. The familiarity with Robert Dudley was but a piece with her boisterous romps in her girlhood, and her flap in the face of young Talbot when he saw her "unready in my night-stuff." But she had more in her than came from Henry and Anne; she had her own individuality, which made her as hard as steel, made her resolute, made her live frugally and work hard, and, above all, made her know her limitations. The woman, be she queen or the plainest mortal, who can estimate accurately her own limitations, who is proof against enthusiasm, proof against ambition, and, at a climax, proof against flattery, who knows what she can *not* do, in that very thing finds success. Elizabeth was and ever will be a wonder-

ful character-study; I never weary of reading or thinking of her.

The settlement of Massachusetts was under James I; but costume varied little, save that it became more cumbersome. This may be attributed directly to the cowardice of the king, who wore quilted and padded — dagger-proof — clothing; and thus gave to his courtiers an example of stuffing and padding which exceeded even that of the men of Elizabeth's day. "A great, round, abominable breech," did the satirists call it. Stays had to be worn beneath the long-waisted, peascod-bellied, stuffed doublet to keep it in shape; thus a man's attire had scarcely a single natural outline.

We have this description of Raleigh, courtier and "servant" of Elizabeth and victim of James, given by a contemporary, Aubrey: —

"He looked like a Knave with his gogling eyes. He could transform himself into any shape. He was a tall, handsome, bold man; but his nævе was that he was damnably proud. A good piece of him is in a white satin doublet all embroidered with rich pearls, and a mighty rich chain of great pearls around his neck. The old servants have told me that the true pearls were nigh as big as the painted ones. He had a most remarkable aspect, an exceeding high forehead, long faced, and sour eie-lidded, a kind of pigge-eie."

We leave the choice of belief between one sentence of this personal description, that he was handsome, and the later plain-spoken details to the judgment of the reader. Certainly both statements cannot be

true. As I look at his portrait, the "good piece of him" on page 21, I wholly disbelieve the former.

Sir Walter Raleigh and Son.

His laced-in, stiffened waist, his absurd breeches, his ruffs and sashes and knots, his great shoe-roses,

his jewelled hatband, make this a fantastic picture, one of little dignity, though of vast cost. The jewels on his shoes were said to have cost thirty thousand pounds; and the perfect pearls in his ear, as seen in another portrait, must have been an inch and a half long. He had doublets entirely covered with a pattern of jewels. In another portrait (on the opposite page) his little son, poor child, stands by his side in similar stiff attire. The famous portrait of Sir Philip Sidney and his brother is equally comic in its absurdity of costume for young lads.

Read these words descriptive of another courtier, of the reign of James; his favorite, the Duke of Buckingham: —

"With great buttons of diamonds, and with diamond hat bands, cockades and ear-rings, yoked with great and manifold knots of pearls. At his going over to Paris in 1625 he had twenty-seven suits of clothes made the richest that embroidery, gems, lace, silk, velvet, gold and stones could contribute; one of which was a white uncut velvet set all over suit and cloak with diamonds valued at £14,000 besides a great feather stuck all over with diamonds, as were also his sword, girdle, hat-band and spurs."

These were all courtiers, but we should in general think of an English merchant as dressed richly but plainly; yet here is the dress of Marmaduke Rawdon, a merchant of that day: —

"The apparell he rid in, with his chaine of gold and hat band was vallued in a thousand Spanish ducats; being two hundred and seventy and five pounds sterling. His hatband was of esmeralds set in gold; his suite was of a fine

cloth trim'd with a small silke and gold fringe; the buttons of his suite fine gold — goldsmith's work; his rapier and dagger richly hatcht with gold."

The white velvet dress of Buckingham showed one of the extreme fashions of the day, the wearing of pure white. Horace Walpole had a full-length painting of Lord Falkland all in white save his black gloves. Another of Sir Godfrey Hart, 1600, is all in white save scarlet heels to the shoes. These scarlet heels were worn long in every court. Who will ever forget their clatter in the pages of Saint Simon, as they ran in frantic haste through hall and corridor — in terror, in cupidity, in satisfaction, in zeal to curry favor, in desire to herald the news, in hope to obtain office, in every mean and detestable spirit — ran from the bedside of the dying king? We can still hear, after two centuries, the noisy, heartless tapping of those hurrying red heels.

Look at the portrait of another courtier, Sir Robert Dudley, who died in 1639; not the Robert Dudley who was tickled in the neck by Queen Elizabeth while he was being dubbed earl; not the Dudley who murdered Amy Robsart, but his disowned son by a noble lady whom he secretly married and dishonored. This son was a brave sailor and a learned man. He wrote the *Arcana del Mare*, and he was a sportsman; "the first of all that taught a dog to sit in order to catch partridges." His portrait shows clumsy armor and showy rings, a great jewel and a vast tie of gauze ribbon on one arm; on the other a cord with many aglets; he

ROBERT DEVEREVX EARLE OF ESSEX HIS EXCEL
lency &c Generall of y^e^ Army

*Pub April 1. 1799 by W Richardson York House N° 31 Strand*

wears marvellously embroidered, slashed, and bombasted breeches, tight hose, a heavily jewelled, broad belt; and a richly fringed scarf over one shoulder, and ridiculous garters at his calf. It is so absurd, so vain a dress one cannot wonder that sensible gentlemen turned away in disgust to so-called Puritan plainness, even if it went to the extreme of Puritan ugliness.

But in truth the eccentrics and extremes of Puritan dress were adopted by zealots; the best of that dress only was worn by the best men of the party. All Puritans were not like Philip Stubbes, the moralist; nor did all Royalists dress like Buckingham, the courtier.

I have spoken of the influence of the word "sad-color." I believe that our notion of the gloom of Puritan dress, of the dress certainly of the New England colonist, comes to us through it, for the term was certainly much used. A Puritan lover in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1645, wrote to his lass that he had chosen for her a sad-colored gown. Winthrop wrote, "Bring the coarsest woolen cloth, so it be not flocks, and of sad colours and some red;" and he ordered a "grave gown" for his wife, "not black, but sad-colour." But while sad-colored meant a quiet tint, it did not mean either a dull stone color or a dingy grayish brown — nor even a dark brown. We read distinctly in an English list of dyes of the year 1638 of these tints in these words, "Sadd-colours the following; liver colour, De Boys, tawney, russet, purple, French green, ginger-lyne, deere colour, orange colour." Of

these nine tints, five, namely, "De Boys," tawny, russet, ginger-lyne, and deer color, were all browns. Other colors in this list of dyes were called "light colours" and "graine colours." Light colors were named plainly as those which are now termed by shopmen "evening shades"; that is, pale blue, pink, lemon, sulphur, lavender, pale green, écru, and cream color. Grain colors were shades of scarlet, and were worn as much as russet. When dress in sad colors ranged from purple and French green through the various tints of brown to orange, it was certainly not a *dull*-colored dress.

Let us see precisely what were the colors of the apparel of the first colonists. Let us read the details of russet and scarlet. We find them in *The Record of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, one of the incontrovertible sources which are a delight to every true historian. These records are in the handwriting of the first secretary, Washburn, and contain lists of the articles sent on the ships *Talbot*, *George*, *Lion's Whelp*, *Four Sisters*, and *Mayflower* for the use of the plantation at Naumkeag (Salem) and later at Boston. They give the amount of iron, coal, and bricks sent as ballast; the red lead, sail-cloth, and copper; and in 1629, at some month and day previous to 16th of March, give the order for the "Apparell for 100 men." We learn that each colonist had this attire: —

"4 Pair Shoes.
2 Pair Irish Stockings about 13*d.* a pair.
1 Pair knit Stockings about 2*s.* 4*d.* a pair.

1 Pair Norwich Garters about 5*s.* a dozen.
4 Shirts.
2 Suits of Doublet and Hose; of leather lined with oiled skin leather, the hose and doublet with hooks and eyes.
1 Suit of Northern Dussens or Hampshire Kerseys lined, the hose with skins; the doublet with linen of Guildford or Gedleyman serges, 2*s.* 10*d.* a yard, $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 yards a suit.
4 Bands.
2 Plain falling bands.
1 Standing band.
1 Waistcoat of green cotton bound about with red tape.
1 Leather Girdle.
2 Monmouth Cap, about 2*s.* apiece.
1 Black Hat lined at the brim with leather.
5 Red knit caps milled; about 5*d.* apiece.
2 Dozen Hooks and eyes and small hooks and eyes for mandillions.
1 Pair Calfs Leather gloves (and some odd pairs of knit and sheeps leather gloves).
A number of Ells Sheer Linen for Handkerchiefs."

On March 16th was added to this list a mandillion lined with cotton at 12*d.* a yard. Also breeches and waistcoats; a leather suit of doublet and breeches of oiled leather; a pair of breeches of leather, "the drawers to serve to wear with both their other suits." There was also full, yes, generous for the day, provision of rugs, bedticks, bolsters, mats, blankets, and sheets for the berths, and table linen. There were fifty beds; evidently two men occupied each bed. Folk, even of wealth and refinement, were not at all sensitive as to their mode

of sleeping or their bedfellows. The pages of Pepys's *Diary* give ample examples of this carelessness.

Arms and armor were also furnished, as will be explained in a later chapter.

A private letter written by an engineer, one Master Graves, the following year (1630), giving a list of "such needful things as every planter ought to provide," affords a more curt and much less expensive list, though this has three full suits, two being of wool stuffs: —

"1 Monmouth Cap.
3 Falling Bands.
3 Shirts.
1 Waistcoat.
1 Suit Canvass.
1 Suit Frieze.
1 Suit of Cloth.
3 Pair of Stockings.
4 Pair of Shoes.
Armour complete.
Sword & Belt."

The underclothing in this outfit seems very scanty.

I am sure that to some of the emigrants on these ships either outfit afforded an ampler wardrobe than they had known theretofore in England, though English folk of that day were well dressed. With a little consideration we can see that the Massachusetts Bay apparel was adequate for all occasions, but it was far different from a man's dress to-day. The colonist "hadn't a coat to his back"; nor had he a pair of trousers. Some had not even a pair of breeches. It was a time when great changes in dress were taking place. The ancient gown had just been abandoned for doublet and long

hose, which were still in high esteem, especially among "the elder sort," with garters or points for the knees. These doublets were both of leather and wool. And there were also doublets to be worn by younger men with breeches and stockings.

When doublet and hose were worn, the latter were, of course, the long, Florentine hose, somewhat like our modern tights.

The jerkin of other lists varied little from the doublet; both were often sleeveless, and the cassock in turn was different only in being longer; buff-coat and horseman's coat were slightly changed. The evolution of doublet, jerkin, and cassock into a man's coat is a long enough story for a special chapter, and one which took place just while America was being settled. Let me explain here that, while the general arrangement of this book is naturally chronological, we halt upon our progress at times, to review a certain aspect of dress, as, for instance, the riding-dress of women, or the dress of the Quakers, or to review the description of certain details of dress in a consecutive account. We thus run on ahead of our story sometimes; and other times, topics have to be resumed and reviewed near the close of the book.

The breeches worn by the early planters were fulled at the waist and knee, after the Dutch fashion, somewhat like our modern knickerbockers or the English bag-breeches.

The four pairs of shoes furnished to the colonists were the best. In another entry the specifications of their make are given thus: —

"Welt Neats Leather shoes crossed on the out-side with a seam. To be substantial good over-leather of the best, and two soles; the under sole of Neats-leather, the outer sole of tallowed backs."

They were to be of ample size, some thirteen inches long; each reference to them insisted upon good quality.

There is plentiful head-gear named in these inventories, — six caps and a hat for each man, at a time when Englishmen thought much and deeply upon what they wore to cover their heads, and at a time when hats were very costly. I give due honor to those hats in an entire chapter, as I do to the ruffs and bands supplied in such adequate and dignified numbers. There was an unusually liberal supply of shirts, and there were drawers which are believed to have been draw-strings for the breeches.

In *New England's First Fruits* we read instructions to bring over "good Irish stockings, which if they are good are much more serviceable than knit ones." There appears to have been much variety in shape as well as in material. John Usher, writing in 1675 to England, says, "your sherrups stockings and your turn down stocking are not salable here." Nevertheless, stirrup stockings and socks were advertised in the *Boston News Letter* as late as January 30, 1731. Stirrup-hose are described in 1658 as being very wide at the top — two yards wide — and edged with points or eyelet holes by which they were made fast to the girdle or bag-breeches. Sometimes they were allowed to bag

down over the garter. They are said to have been worn on horseback to protect the other garments.

Stockings at that time were made of cotton and woollen cloth more than they were knitted. Calico stockings are found in inventories, and often stockings as well as hose with calico linings. In the clothing of William Wright of Plymouth, at his death in 1633, were

> "2 Pair Old Knit Stockins.
> 2 Pair Old Yrish Stockins.
> 2 Pair Cloth Stockins.
> 2 Pair Wadmoll Stockins.
> 4 Pair Linnen Stockins,"

which would indicate that Goodman Wright had stockings for all weathers, or, as said a list of that day, "of all denominations." He had also two pair of boot-hose and two pair of boot-briches; evidently he was a seafaring man. I must note that he had more ample underclothing than many "plain citizens," having cotton drawers and linen drawers and dimity waistcoats.

That petty details of propriety and dignity of dress were not forgotten; that the articles serving to such dignity were furnished to the colonists, and the use of these articles was expected of them, is shown by the supply of such additions to dress as Norwich garters. Garters had been a decorative and elegant ornament to dress, as may be seen by glancing at the portraits of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Orchard, and the *English Antick*, in this book. And they might well have been decried as

offensive luxuries unmeet for any Puritan and unnecessary for any colonist; yet here they are. The settlers in one of the closely following ships had points for the knee as well as garters.

From all this cheerful and ample dress, this might well be a Cavalier emigration; in truth, the apparel supplied as an outfit to the Virginia planters (who are generally supposed to be far more given over to rich dress) is not as full nor as costly as this apparel of Massachusetts Bay. In this as in every comparison I make, I find little to indicate any difference between Puritan and Cavalier in quantity of garments, in quality, or cost — or, indeed, in form. The differences in England were much exaggerated in print; in America they often existed wholly in men's notions of what a Puritan must be.

At first the English Puritan reformers made marked alterations in dress; and there were also distinct changes in the soldiers of Cromwell's army, but in neither case did rigid reforms prove permanent, nor were they ever as great or as sweeping as the changes which came to the Cavalier dress. Many of the extremes preached in Elizabeth's day had disappeared before New England was settled; they had been abandoned as unwise or unnecessary; others had been adopted by Cavaliers, so that equalized all differences. I find it difficult to pick out with accuracy Puritan or Cavalier in any picture of a large gathering. Let us glance at the Puritan Roundhead, at Cromwell himself. His picture is given on the following page, cut from a famous print of his day, which represents Cromwell dissolving

the Long Parliament. He and his three friends, all Puritan leaders, are dressed in clothes as distinctly Cavalier as the attire of the king himself. The graceful hats with sweeping ostrich feathers are precisely like the Cavalier hats still preserved in England ; like one in the South Kensington Museum. Cromwell's wide boots and his short cape all have a Cavalier aspect.

Cromwell dissolving Parliament.

While Cromwell was steadily working for power, the fashion of plain attire was being more talked about than at any other time; so he appeared in studiously simple dress — the plainest apparel, indeed, of any man prominent in affairs in English history. This is a description of his appearance at a time before his name was in all Englishmen's mouths. It was written by Sir Philip Warwick : —

"The first time I ever took notice of him (Cromwell) was in the beginning of Parliament, November, 1640. I came into the house one morning, well-clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinary apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his band which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of good size; his sword stuck close to his side."

Lowell has written of what he terms verbal magic; the power of certain words and sentences, apparently simple, and without any recognizable quality, which will, nevertheless, fix themselves in our memory, or will picture a scene to us which we can never forget. This description of Cromwell has this magic. There is no apparent reason why these plain, commonplace words should fix in my mind this simple, rough-hewn form; yet I never can think of Cromwell otherwise than in this attire, and whatever portrait I see of him, I instinctively look for the spot of blood on his band. I know of his rich dress after he was in power; of that splendid purple velvet suit in which he lay majestic in death; but they never seem to me to be Cromwell — he wears forever an ill-cut, clumsy cloth suit, a close sword, and rumpled linen.

The noble portraits of Cromwell by the miniaturist, Samuel Cooper, especially the one which is at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, are held to be the truest likenesses. They show a narrow band, but the hair curls softly on the shoulders. The

wonderful portrait of the Puritan General Ireton, in the National Portrait Gallery, has beautiful, long hair, and a velvet suit much slashed, and with many loops and buttons at the slashes. He wears mustache and imperial. We expect we may find that friend of Puritanism, Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, in rich dress; and we find him in the richest of dress; namely, a doublet made, as to its body and large full sleeves, wholly of bands an inch or two wide of embroidery and gold lace, opening like long slashes from throat to waist, and from arm-scye to wrist over fine white lawn, and with extra slashes at various spots, with the full white lawn of his "habit-shirt" pulled out in pretty puffs. His hair is long and curling. General Waller of Cromwell's army, here shown, is the very figure of a Cavalier, as handsome a face, with as flowing hair and careful mustache, as the Duke of Buckingham, or Mr. Endymion Porter, — that courtier of courtiers, — gentleman of the bed-chamber to Charles I. Cornet Joyce, the sturdy personal custodian of the king in captivity, came the closest to being a Roundhead; but even his hair covers his ear and

Sir William Waller.

hangs over his collar — it would be deemed overlong to-day.

Here is Lord Fairfax in plain buff coat slightly laced and slashed with white satin. Fanshawe dressed — so his wife tells us — in "phillamot brocade with 9 Laces every one as broad as my hand, a little gold and silver lace between and both of curious workmanship." And his suit was gay with scarlet knots of ribbon; and his legs were cased in white silk hose over scarlet ones; and he wore black shoes with scarlet shoe strings and scarlet roses and garters; and his gloves were trimmed with scarlet ribbon — a fine "gaybeseen" — to use Chaucer's words.

Surprising to all must be the portrait of that Puritan figurehead, the Earl of Leicester; for he wears an affected double-peaked beard, a great ruff, feathered hat, richly jewelled hatband and collar, and an ear-ring. Facing page 26 is the dress he wore when masquerading in Holland as general during the Netherland insurrection against Philip II.

It is strange to find even writers of intelligence calling Winthrop and Endicott Roundheads. A recent magazine article calls Myles Standish a Roundhead captain. That term was not invented till a score of years after Myles Standish landed at Plymouth. A political song printed in 1641 is entitled *The Character of a Roundhead.* It begins: —

> "What creature's this with his short hairs
> His little band and huge long ears
> That this new faith hath founded?

The right Honourable Ferdinand—
Lord Fairfax

The Puritans were never such,
The saints themselves had ne'er as much.
Oh, such a knave's a Roundhead."

Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson was the wife of a Puritan gentleman, who was colonel in Cromwell's army, and one of the regicide judges. She wrote a history of her husband's life, which is one of the most valuable sources of information of the period wherein he lived, the day when Cromwell and Hampden acted, when Laud and Strafford suffered. In this history she tells explicitly of the early use of the word Roundhead: —

"The name of Roundhead coming so opportunely, I shall make a little digression to show how it came up: When Puritanism grew a faction, the Zealots distinguished themselves by several affectations of habit, looks and words, which had it been a real forsaking of vanity would have been most commendable. Among other affected habits, few of the Puritans, what degree soever they were, wore their hair long enough to cover their ears; and the ministers and many others cut it close around their heads with so many little peaks — as was something ridiculous to behold. From this custom that name of Roundhead became the scornful term given to the whole Parliament Party, whose army indeed marched out as if they had only been sent out till their hair was grown. Two or three years later any stranger that had seen them would have inquired the meaning of that name."

It is a pleasure to point out Colonel Hutchinson as a Puritan, though there was little in his dress to indicate the significance of such a name for him, and certainly he was not a Roundhead, with his light

brown hair "softer than the finest silk and curling in great loose rings at the ends — a very fine, thick-set head of hair." He loved dancing, fencing, shooting, and hawking; he was a charming musician; he had judgment in painting, sculpture, architecture, and the "liberal arts." He delighted in books and in gardening and in all rarities; in fact, he seemed to care for everything that was "lovely and of good report." "He was wonderfully neat, cleanly and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anything very costly, yet in his plainest habit appeared very much a gentleman." Such dress was the *best* of Puritan dress; just as he was the best type of a Puritan. He was cheerful, witty, happy, eager, earnest, vivacious — a bit quick in temper, but kind, generous, and good. He was, in truth, what is best of all, — a noble, consistent, Christian gentleman.

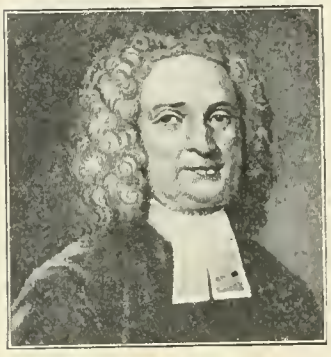
Those who have not acquired from accurate modern portrayal and representation their whole notion of the dress of the early colonists have, I find, a figure in their mind's eye something like that of Matthew Hopkins the witch-finder. Hogarth's illustrations of Hudibras give similar Puritans. Others have figures, dull and plainly dressed, from the pictures in some book of saints and martyrs of the Puritan church, such as were found in many an old New England home. *My* Puritan is reproduced on page 41. I have found in later years that this Alderman Abel of my old print was quite a character in English history; having

been given with Cousin Kilvert the monopoly of the sale of wines at retail, one of those vastly lucrative privileges which brought forth the bitterest denunciations from Sir John Eliot, who regarded them

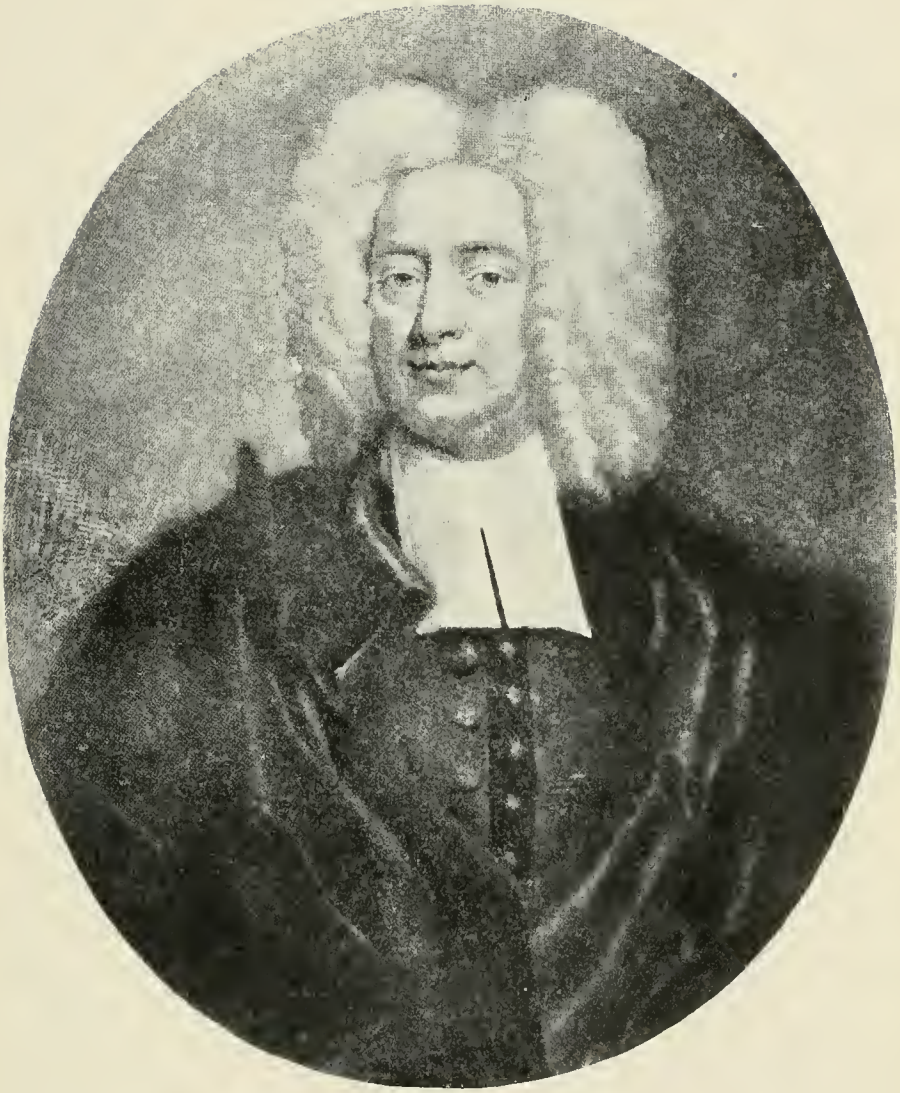
*Mr. Alderman Abell and Richard Kilvert,*
*the two maine Projectors for Wine 1641.*

as an infamous imposition upon the English people. The site of Abel's house had once belonged to Cardinal Wolsey; and it was popularly believed that Abel found and used treasure of the cardinal which had been hidden in his cellar. He was called the "Main Projector and Patentee for the Raising of Wines." Unfortunately for my theory that Abel was a typical Puritan, he was under the protection of King Charles I; and Cromwell's Parliament put an end to his monopoly in 1641, and his dress was simply that of any dull, uninteresting, commonplace, and common Englishman of his day.

Another New England man who is constantly called a Roundhead is Cotton Mather; with equal inconsequence and inaccuracy he is often referred to, and often stigmatized, as "the typical Puritan colonist," a narrow, bigoted Gospeller. I have open before me an editorial from a reputable newspaper which speaks of Cotton Mather dressed in dingy, skimped, sad-colored garments "shivering in the icy air of Plymouth as he uncovered his close-clipped Round-head when he landed on the Rock from the *Mayflower*." He was in fact born in America; he was not a Plymouth man, and did not die till more than a century after the landing of the *Mayflower*, and, of course, he was not a Roundhead. Another drawing of Cotton Mather, in a respectable magazine, depicts him with clipped hair, emaciated, clad in clumsy garments, mean and haggard in countenance, raising a bundle of rods over a cowering Indian child. Now, Cotton Mather was distinctly handsome, as may be seen from his picture facing this page, which displays plainly the full, sensual features of the Cotton family, shown in John Cotton's portrait. And the Roundhead is in an elegant, richly curled periwig, such as was fashionable a hundred years after the *Mayflower*. And though he had the tormenting Puritan conscience he was not wholly a Puritan, for the world, the flesh, and the devil were



Reverend John Cotton.



Reverend Cotton Mather.

strong in him. He was much more gentle and tender than men of that day were in general; especially with all children, white and Indian, and was most conscientious in his relations both to Indians and negroes. And in those days of universal whippings by English and American schoolmasters and parents, he spoke in no uncertain voice his horror and disapproval of the rod for children, and never countenanced or permitted any whippings.

There was certainly great diversity in dress among those who called themselves Puritans. Some amusing stories are told of that strange, restless, brilliant creature, the major-general of Cromwell's army, — Harrison. When the first-accredited ambassador sent by any great nation to the new republic came to London, there was naturally some stir as to the wisdom of certain details of demeanor and dress. It was a ticklish time. The new Commonwealth must command due honor, and the day before the audience a group of Parliament gentlemen, among them Colonel Hutchinson and one who was afterwards the Earl of Warwick, were seated together when Harrison came in and spoke of the coming audience, and admonished them all — and Hutchinson in particular, "who was in a habit pretty rich but grave and none other than he usually wore" — that, now nations sent to them, they must "shine in wisdom and piety, not in gold and silver and worldly bravery which did not become saints." And he asked them not to appear before the ambassador in "gorgeous habits." So the colonel — though he was not "convinced of any misbecoming bravery in

a suit of sad-coloured cloth trimmed with gold and with silver points and buttons" — still conformed to his comrade's opinion, and appeared as did all the other gentlemen in solemn, handsome black. When who should come in, "all in red and gold-a," — in scarlet coat and cloak laden with gold and silver, "the coat so covered with clinquant one could scarcely discern the ground," and in this gorgeous and glittering habit seat himself alone just under the speaker's chair and receive the specially low respects and salutes of all in the ambassador's train,— who should thus blazon and brazon and bourgeon forth but Harrison! I presume, though Hutchinson was a Puritan and a saint, he was a bit chagrined at his black suit of garments, and a bit angered at being thus decoyed; and it touched Madam Hutchinson deeply.

But Hutchinson had his turn to wear gay clothes. A great funeral was to be given to Ireton, who was his distant kinsman; yet Cromwell, from jealousy, sent no bidding or mourning suit to him. A general invitation and notice was given to the whole assembly, and on the hour of the funeral, within the great, gloomy state-chamber, hung in funereal black, and filled with men in trappings of woe, covered with great black cloaks with long, weeping hatbands drooping to the ground, in strode Hutchinson; this time he was in scarlet and cliquante, "such as he usually wore," — so wrote his wife, — astonishing the eyes of all, especially the diplomats and ambassadors who were present, who probably deemed him of so great station as to be exempt from wearing

black. The master of ceremonies timidly regretted to him, in hesitating words, that no mourning had been sent — it had been in some way overlooked; the General could not, thus unsuitably dressed, follow the coffin in the funeral procession — it would not look well; the master of ceremonies would be rebuked — all which proved he did not know Hutchinson, for follow he could, and would, and did, in this rich dress. And he walked through the streets and stood in the Abbey, with his scarlet cloak flaunting and fluttering like a gay tropical bird in the midst of a slowly flying, sagging flock of depressed black crows, — you have seen their dragging, heavy flight, — and was looked upon with admiration and love by the people as a splendid and soldierly figure.

We must not forget that the years which saw the settlement of Salem and Boston were not under the riot of dress countenanced by James. Charles I was then on the throne; and the rich and beautiful dress worn by that king had already taken shape.

There has been an endeavor made to attribute this dress to the stimulus, to the influence, of Puritan feeling. Possibly some of the reaction against the absurdities of Elizabeth and James may have helped in the establishment of this costume; but I think the excellent taste of Charles and especially of his queen, Henrietta Maria, who succeeded in making women's dress wholly beautiful, may be thanked largely for it. And we may be grateful to the painter Van Dyck; for he had not only great taste as to dress, and genius in presenting his taste to the

public, but he had a singular appreciation of the pictorial quality of dress and a power of making dress appropriate to the wearer. And he fully understood its value in indicating character.

Since Van Dyck formed and painted these fine and elegant modes, they are known by his name, — it is the Van Dyck costume. We have ample exposition of it, for his portraits are many. It is told that he painted forty portraits of the king and thirty of the queen, and many of the royal children. There are nine portraits by his hand of the Earl of Strafford, the king's friend. He painted the Earl of Arundel seven times. Venetia, Lady Digby, had four portraits in one year. He painted all persons of fashion, many of distinction and dignity, and some with no special reason for consideration or portrayal.

The Van Dyck dress is a gallant dress, one fitted for a court, not for everyday life, nor for a strenuous life, though men of such aims wore it. The absurdity of Elizabeth's day is lacking; the richness remains. It is a dress distinctly expressive of dignity. The doublet is of some rich, silken stuff, usually satin or velvet. The sleeves are loose and graceful; at one time they were slashed liberally to show the fine, full, linen shirt-sleeve. Here are a number of slashed sleeves, from portraits of the day, painted by Van Dyck. The cuffs of the doublet are often turned back deeply to show embroidered shirt cuffs or lace ruffles, or even linen undersleeves. The collar of the doublet was wholly covered with a band or collar of rich lace and lawn, or all lace;

this usually with the pointed edges now termed Vandykes. Band strings of ribbon or "snake-bone" were worn. These often had jewelled tassels. Rich tassels of pearl were the favorite. A short cloak was thrown gracefully on one shoulder or hung at the back. Knee-breeches edged with points or fringes or ribbons met the tops of wide, high boots of Spanish leather, which often also

Slashed Sleeves, temp. Charles I.

turned over with ruffles of leather or lace. Within-doors silken hose and shoes with rich shoe-roses of lace or ribbon were worn. A great hat, broad-leafed, often of Flemish beaver, had a splendid feather and jewelled hatband. A rich sword-belt and gauntleted and fringed gloves were added. A peaked beard with small upturned mustache formed a triangle, with the mouth in the centre, as in the portrait of General Waller. The hair curled loosely in the neck, and was rarely, I think, powdered.

Other great painters besides Van Dyck were fortunately in England at the time this dress was worn, and the king was a patron and appreciator of art. Hence they were encouraged in their work; and every form and detail of this beautiful costume is fully depicted for us.

# CHAPTER II

## DRESS OF THE NEW ENGLAND MOTHERS

"*Nowe my deare hearte let me parlye a little with thee about trifles, for when I am present with thee, my speeche is preiudiced by thy presence which drawes my mind from itselfe; I suppose now, upon thy unkles cominge there wilbe advisinge & counsellinge of all hands; and amongst many I know there wilbe some, that wilbe provokinge thee, in these indifferent things, as matter of apparell, fashions and other circumstances; I hould it a rule of Christian wisdome in all things to follow the soberest examples; I confesse that there be some ornaments which for Virgins and Knights Daughters &c may be comly and tollerrable w^ch^ yet in soe great a change as thine is, may well admitt a change allso; I will medle with noe particulars neither doe I thinke it shall be needfull; thine own wisdome and godliness shall teach thee sufficiently what to doe in such things. I knowe thou wilt not grieve me for trifles. Let me intreate thee (my sweet Love) to take all in good part.*"

— John Winthrop to Margaret Tyndale, 1616.

PROPERTY OF
THE ACTORS' EQUITY

# CHAPTER II

## DRESS OF THE NEW ENGLAND MOTHERS

HAVE expressed a doubt that the dress of Cavalier and Puritan varied as much as has been popularly believed; I feel sure that the dress of Puritan women did not differ from the attire of women of quiet life who remained in the Church of England; nor did it vary materially either in form or quality from the attire of the sensible followers of court life. It simply did not extend to the extreme of the mode in gay color, extravagance, or grotesqueness. In the first severity of revolt over the dissoluteness of English life which had shown so plainly in the extravagance and absurdity of English court dress, many persons of deep thought (especially men), both of the Church of England and of the Puritan faith, expressed their feeling by a change in their dress. Doubtless also in some the extremity of feeling extended to fanaticism. It is always thus in reforms; the slow start becomes suddenly a violent rush which needs to be retarded and moderated, and it always is moderated. I have referred to one exhibition of bigotry in regard to dress which is found in the annals of Puritanism; it is detailed in the censure and attempt at restraint of

the dress of Madam Johnson, the wife of the Rev. Francis Johnson, the pastor of the exiles to Holland.

There is a tradition that Parson Johnson was one of the Marprelate brotherhood, who certainly deserved the imprisonment they received, were it only for their ill-spelling and ill-use of their native tongue. The Marprelate pamphlet before me as I write had an author who could not even spell the titles of the prelates it assailed; but called them "parsones, fyckers and currats," the latter two names being intended for vicars and curates. The story of Madam Johnson's revolt, and her triumph, is preserved to us in such real and earnest language, and was such a vital thing to the actors in the little play, that it seems almost irreverent to regard it as a farce, yet none to-day could read of it without a sense of absurdity, and we may as well laugh frankly and freely at the episode.

When the protagonist of this Puritan comedy entered the stage, she was a widow — Tomison or Thomasine Boyes, a "warm" widow, as the saying of the day ran, that is, warm with a comfortable legacy of ready money. She was a young widow, and she was handsome. At any rate, it was brought up against her when events came to a climax; it was testified in the church examination or trial that "men called her a bouncing girl," as if she could help that! Husband Boyes had been a haberdasher, and I fancy she got both her finery and her love of finery in his shop. And it was told with all the petty terms of scandal-mongering that might be heard in a small shop in a small English town to-day;

it was told very gravely that the "clarkes in the shop" compared her for her pride in apparel to the wife of the Bishop of London, and it was affirmed that she stood "gazing, braving, and vaunting in shop doores."

Now this special complaint against the Widow Boyes, that she stood braving and vaunting in shop doors, was not a far-fetched attack brought as a novelty of tantalizing annoyance; it touches in her what was one of the light carriages of the day, which were so detestable to sober and thoughtful folk, an odious custom specified by Stubbes in his *Anatomy of Abuses*. He writes thus of London women, the wives of merchants: —

"Othersome spend the greater part of the daie in sittyng at the doore, to shewe their braveries, to make knowen their beauties, to behold the passers by; to view the coast, to see fashions, and to acquaint themselves of the bravest fellows — for, if not for these causes, I know no other causes why they should sitt at their doores — as many doe from Morning till Noon, from Noon till Night."

Other writers give other reasons for this "vaunting." We learn that "merchants' wives had seats built a purpose" to sit in, in order to lure customers. Marston in *The Dutch Courtesan* says: —

"His wife's a proper woman — that she is! She has been as proper a woman as any in the Chepe. She paints now, and yet she keeps her husband's old customers to him still. In troth, a fine-fac'd wife in a wainscot-carved seat, is a worthy ornament to any tradesman's shop. And an attractive one I'le warrant."

This handsome, buxom, bouncing widow fell in love with Pastor Johnson, and he with her, while he was "a prisoner in the Clink," he having been thrown therein by the Archbishop of Canterbury for his persistent preaching of Puritanism. Many of his friends "thought this not a good match" for him at any time; and all deemed it ill advised for a man in prison to pledge himself in matrimony to any one. And soon zealous and meddlesome Brother George Johnson took a hand in advice and counsel, with as high a hand as if Francis had been a child instead of a man of thirty-two, and a man of experience as well, and likewise older than George.

George at first opened warily, saying in his letters that "he was very loth to contrary his brother;" still Brother Francis must be sensible that this widow was noted for her pride and vanity, her light and garish dress, and that it would give great offence to all Puritans if he married her, and "it (the vanity and extravagance, etc.) should not be refrained." There was then some apparent concession and yielding on the widow's part, for George for a time "sett down satysfyed"; when suddenly, to his "great grief" and discomfiture, he found that his brother had been "inveigled and overcarried," and the sly twain had been married secretly in prison.

It must be remembered that this was in the last years of Elizabeth's reign, in 1596, when the laws were rigid in attempts at limitation of dress, as I shall note later in this chapter. But there were certain privileges of large estate, even if the owner were of mean birth; and Madam Johnson certainly had

money enough to warrant her costly apparel, and in ready cash also, from Husband Boyes. But in the first good temper and general good will of the honeymoon she "obeyed"; she promised to dress as became her husband's condition, which would naturally mean much simpler attire. He was soon in very bad case for having married without permission of the archbishop, and was still more closely confined within-walls; but even while he lingered in prison, Brother George saw with anguish that the bride's short obedience had ended. She appeared in "more garish and proud apparell" than he had ever before seen upon the widow, — naturally enough for a bride, — even the bride of a bridegroom in prison; but he "dealt with her that she would refrain" — poor, simple man! She dallied on, tantalizing him and daring him, and she was very "bold in inviting proof," but never quitting her bridal finery for one moment; so George read to her with emphasis, as a final and unconquerable weapon, that favorite wail of all men who would check or reprove an extravagant woman, namely, Isaiah iii, 16 *et seq.*, the chapter called by Mercy Warren

> ". . . An antiquated page
> That taught us the threatenings of an Hebrew sage
> Gainst wimples, mantles, curls and crisping pins."

I wonder how many Puritan parsons have preached fatuously upon those verses! how many defiant women have had them read to them — and how many meek ones! I knew a deacon's wife in Worcester, some years ago, who asked for a new pair of India-

rubber overshoes, and in pious response her frugal partner slapped open the great Bible at this favorite third chapter of the lamenting and threatening prophet, and roared out to his poor little wife, sitting meekly before him in calico gown and checked apron, the lesson of the haughty daughters of Zion walking with stretched-forth necks and tinkling feet; of their chains and bracelets and mufflers; their bonnets and rings and rich jewels; their mantles and wimples and crisping-pins; their fair hoods and veils — oh, how she must have longed for an Oriental husband!

Petulant with his new sister-in-law's successful evasions of his readings, his letters, and his advice, his instructions, his pleadings, his commands, and "full of sauce and zeal" like Elnathan, George Johnson, in emulation of the prophet Isaiah, made a list of the offences of this London "daughter of Zion," wrote them out, and presented them to the congregation. She wore "3, 4, or even 5 gold rings at one time." Then likewise "her Busks and ye Whalebones at her Brest were soe manifest that many of ye Saints were greeved thereby." She was asked to "pull off her Excessive Deal of Lace." And she was fairly implored to "exchange ye Schowish Hatt for a sober Taffety or Felt." She was ordered severely "to discontinue Whalebones," and to "quit ye great starcht Ruffs, ye Muske, and ye Rings." And not to wear her bodice tied to her petticoat "as men do their doublets to their hose contrary to 1 Thessalonians, V, 22." And a certain stomacher or neckerchief he plainly called "abominable and loathsome."

A "schowish Velvet Hood," such as only "the richest, finest and proudest sort should use," was likewise beyond endurance, almost beyond forgiveness, and other "gawrish gear gave him grave greevance."

Mrs. William Clark.

But here the young husband interfered, as it was high time he should; and he called his brother "fantasticall, fond, ignorant, anabaptisticall and such like," though what the poor Anabaptists had to do with such dress quarrels I know not. George's cautious reference in his letter to the third verse of the third chapter of Jeremiah made the parson call

it "the Abhominablest Letter ever was written." George, a bit frightened, answered pacificatorily that he noted of late that "the excessive lace upon the sleeve of her dress had a Cover drawn upon it;" that the stomacher was not "so gawrish, so low, and so spitz-fashioned as it was wont to be"; nor was her hat "so topishly set," — and he expressed pious gladness at the happy change, "hoping more would follow," — and for a time all did seem subdued. But soon another meddlesome young man became "greeved" (did ever any one hear of such a set of silly, grieving fellows?); and seeing "how heavily the young gentleman took it," stupid George must interfere again, to be met this time very boldly by the bouncing girl herself, who, he writes sadly, answered him in a tone "very peert and coppet." "Coppet" is a delightful old word which all our dictionaries have missed; it signifies impudent, saucy, or, to be precise, "sassy," which we all know has a shade more of meaning. "Peert and coppet" is a delightful characterization. George refused to give the sad young complainer's name, who must have been well ashamed of himself by this time, and was then reproached with being a "forestaller," a "picker," and a "quarrelous meddler" — and with truth.

During the action of this farce, all had gone from London into exile in Holland. Then came the sudden trip to Newfoundland and the disastrous and speedy return to Holland again. And through the misfortunes and the exiles, the company drew more closely together, and gentle words prevailed; George was "sorie if he had overcarried himself";

Madam "was sure if it were to do now, she would not so wear it." Still, she did not offer her martinet of a brother-in-law a room to lodge in in her house, though she had many rooms unused, and he needed shelter, whereat he whimpered much; and soon he was charging her again "with Muske as a sin" (musk was at that time in the very height of fashion in France) and cavilling at her unbearable "topish hat." Then came long argument and sparring for months over "topishness," which seems to have been deemed a most offensive term. They told its nature and being; they brought in Greek derivatives, and the pastor produced a syllogism upon the word. And they declared that the hat in itself was not topish, but only became so when she wore it, she being the wife of a preacher; and they disputed over velvet and vanity; they bickered over topishness and lightness; they wrangled about lawn coives and busks in a way that was sad to read. The pastor argued soundly, logically, that both coives and busks might be lawfully used; whereat one of his flock, Christopher Dickens, rose up promptly in dire fright and dread of future extravagance among the women-saints in the line of topish hats and coives and busks, and he "begged them not to speak so, and *so loud*, lest it should bring *many inconveniences among their wives*." Finally the topish head-gear was demanded in court, which the parson declared was "offensive"; and so they bickered on till a most unseemly hour, till *ten o'clock at night*, as "was proved by the watchman and rattleman coming about." Naturally they wished to go to bed at

an early hour, for religious services began at nine; one of the complaints against the topish bride was that she was a "slug-a-bed," flippantly refused to rise and have her house ordered and ready for the

Lady Mary Armine.

nine o'clock public service. The meetings were then held in the parson's house, and held every day; which may have been one reason why the settlement grew poorer. It matters little what was said, or how it ended, since it did not disrupt and disband

the Holland Pilgrims. For eleven years this stupid wrangling lasted; and it seemed imminent that the settlement would finish with a separation, and a return of many to England. Slight events have great power — this topish hat of a vain and pretty, a peert and coppet young Puritan bride came near to hindering and changing the colonization of America.

I have related this episode at some length because its recounting makes us enter into the spirit of the first Separatist settlers. It shows us too that dress conquered zeal; it could not be "forborne" by entreaty, by reproof, by discipline, by threats, by example. An influence, or perhaps I should term it an echo, of this long quarrel is seen plainly by the thoughtful mind in the sumptuary laws of the New World. Some of the articles of dress so dreaded, so discussed in Holland, still threatened the peace of Puritanical husbands in New England; they still dreaded "many inconveniences." In 1634, the general court of Massachusetts issued this edict: —

"That no person, man or woman, shall hereafter make or buy any Apparell, either Woolen, or Silk, or Linen, with any Lace on it, Silver, Gold, or Thread, under the penalty of forfeiture of said clothes. Also that no person either man or woman, shall make or buy any Slashed Clothes, other than one Slash in each Sleeve and another in the Back. Also all Cut-works, embroideries, or Needlework Caps, Bands or Rails, are forbidden hereafter to be made and worn under the aforesaid Penalty; also all gold or silver Girdles Hat bands, Belts, Ruffs, Beaver hats are prohibited to be bought and worn hereafter."

Fines were stated, also the amount of estate which released the dress-wearer from restriction. Liberty was given to all to wear out the apparel which they had on hand except "immoderate great sleeves, slashed apparell, immoderate great rails, and long wings" — these being beyond endurance.

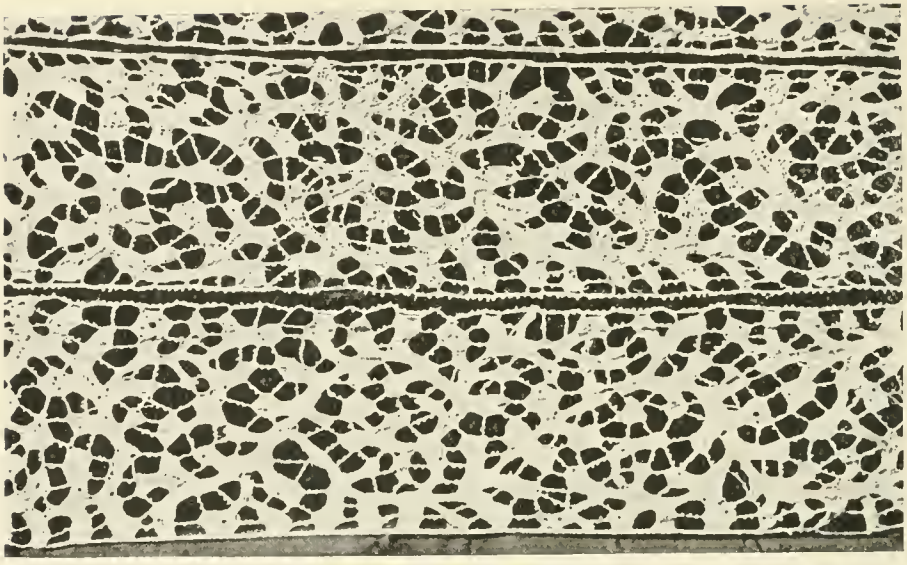
In 1639 "immoderate great breeches, knots of riban, broad shoulder bands and rayles, silk roses, double ruffles and capes" were forbidden to folk of low estate. Soon the court expressed its "utter detestation and dislike," that men and women of "mean condition, education and calling" should take upon themselves "the garb of gentlemen" by wearing gold and silver lace, buttons and points at the knee, or "walk in great boots," or women of the same low rank to wear silk or tiffany hoods or scarfs. There were likewise orders that no short sleeves should be worn "whereby the nakedness of the arms may be discovered"; women's sleeves were not to be more than half an ell wide; long hair and immodest laying out of the hair and wearing borders of hair were abhorrent. Poor folk must not appear with "naked breasts and arms; or as it were pinioned with superstitious ribbons on hair and apparell." Tailors who made garments for servants or children, richer than the garments of the parents or masters of these juniors, were to be fined. Similar laws were passed in Connecticut and Virginia. I know of no one being "psented" under these laws in Virginia, but in Connecticut and Massachusetts both men and women were fined. In 1676, in Northampton, thirty-six young women at one time were brought

The Tub-preacher.

up for overdress chiefly in hoods; and an amusing entry in the court record is that one of them, Hannah Lyman, appeared in the very hood for which she was fined; and was thereupon censured for "wearing silk in a fflonting manner, in an offensive way, not only before but when she stood Psented. Not only in Ordinary but Extraordinary times." These girls were all fined; but six years later, when a stern magistrate attempted a similar persecution, the indictments were quashed.

It is not unusual to find the careless observer or the superficial reader — and writer — commenting upon the sumptuary laws of the New World as if they were extraordinary and peculiar. There appeared in a recent American magazine a long rehearsal of the unheard-of presumption of Puritan magistrates in their prohibition of certain articles of dress. This writer was evidently wholly ignorant of the existence of similar laws in England, and even of like laws in Virginia, but railed against Winthrop and Endicott as monsters of Puritanical arrogance and impudence.

In truth, however, such laws had existed not only in France and England, but since the days of the old Locrian legislation, when it was ordered that no woman should go attended with more than one maid in the street "unless she were drunk." Ancient Rome and Sparta were surrounded by dress restrictions which were broken just as were similar ones in more modern times. The Roman could wear a robe but of a single color; he could wear in embroideries not more than half an ounce of



Old Venice Point Lace.

gold; and with what seems churlishness he was forbidden to ride in a carriage. At that time, just as in later days, dress was made to emphasize class distinction, and the clergy joined with the magistrates in denouncing extravagant dress in both men and women. The chronicles of the monks are ever chiding men for their peaked shoes, deep sleeves and curled locks like women, and Savonarola outdid them all in severity. The English kings and queens, jealous of the rich dress of their opulent subjects, multiplied restrictions, and some very curious anecdotes exist of the calm assumption by both Elizabeth and Mary to their own wardrobe of the rich finery of some lady at the court who displayed some new and too becoming fancy.

Adam Smith declared it "an act of highest impertinence and presumption for kings and rulers to

pretend to watch over the earnings and expenditure of private persons," nevertheless this public interference lingered long, especially under monarchies.

These sumptuary laws of New England followed in spirit and letter similar laws in England. Winthrop had seen the many apprentices who ran through London streets, dressed under laws as full of details of dress as is a modern journal of the modes. For instance, the apprentice's head-covering must be a small, flat, round cap, called often a bonnet — a hat like a pie-dish. The facing of the hat could not exceed three inches in breadth in the head; nor could the hat with band and facing cost over five shillings. His band or collar could have no lace edge; it must be of linen not over five shillings an ell in price; and could have no other work or ornament save "a plain hem and one stitch" — which was a hemstitch. If he wore a ruff, it must not be over three inches wide before it was gathered and set into the "stock." The collar of his doublet could have neither "point, well-bone or plait," but must be made "close and comely." The stuff of his doublet and breeches could not cost over two shillings and sixpence a yard. It could be either cloth, kersey, fustian, sackcloth, canvas, or "English stuff"; or leather could be used. The breeches were generally of the shape known as "round slops." His stockings could be knit or of cloth; but his shoes could have no polonia heels. His hair was to be cut close, with no "tuft or lock."

Queen Elizabeth stood no nonsense in these

things; finding that London 'prentices had adopted a certain white stitching for their collars, she put a stop to this mild finery by ordering the first transgressor to be whipped publicly in the hall of his company. These same laws, tinkered and altered to suit occasions, appear for many years in English records, for years after New England's sumptuary laws were silenced.

Notwithstanding Hannah Lyman and the thirty-six vain Northampton girls, we do not on the whole hear great complaint of extravagance in dress or deportment. At any rate none were called bouncing girls. The portraits of men or women certainly show no restraint as to richness in dress. Their sumptuary laws were of less use to their day than to ours, for they do reveal to us what articles of dress our forbears wore.

While the Massachusetts magistrates were fussing a little over woman's dress, the parsons, as a whole, were remarkably silent. Of course two or three of them could not refrain from announcing a text from Isaiah iii, 16 *et seq.*, and enlarging upon the well-worn wimples and nose jewels, and bells on their feet, which were as much out of fashion in Massachusetts then as now. It is such a well-rounded, ringing, colorful arraignment of woman's follies you couldn't expect a parson to give it up. Every evil predicted of the prophet was laid at the door of these demure Puritan dames, — fire and war, and caterpillars, and even baldness, which last was really unjust. Solomon Stoddard preached on the "Intolerable Pride in the Plantations in Clothes and Hair,"

Rebecca Rawson.

that his parishioners "drew iniquity with a cord of vanity and sin with a cart-rope." The apostle Paul also furnished ample texts for the Puritan preacher.

In the eleventh chapter of Corinthians wise Paul delivered some sentences of exhortation, of reproof, of warning to Corinthian women which I presume he understood and perhaps Corinthian dames did, but which have been a dire puzzle since to parsons and male members of their congregations. (I cannot think that women ever bothered much about his words.) For instance, Archbishop Latimer, in one of the cheerful, slangy rallies to his hearers which he called sermons, quotes Paul's sentence that a woman ought to have a power on her head, and construes positively that a power is a French hood. This is certainly a somewhat surprising notion, but I presume he knew. However, Roger Williams deemed a power a veil; and being somewhat dictatorial in his words, albeit the tenderest of creatures in his heart, he bade Salem women come to meeting in a veil, telling them they should come like Sarah of old, wearing this veil as a token of submission to their husbands. The text saith this exactly, "A woman ought to have power on her head because of the angels," which seems to me one of those convenient sayings of Paul and others which can be twisted to many, to any meanings, even to Latimer's French hood. Old John Cotton, of course, found ample Scripture to prove Salem women should not wear veils, and so here in this New World, as in the Holland sojourn, the head-covering of the mothers rent in twain the meetings

of the fathers, while the women wore veils or no veils, French hoods or beaver hats, in despite of Paul's opinions and their husbands' constructions of his opinions.

An excellent description of the Puritan women of a dissenting congregation is in *Hudibras Redivivus;* it reads: —

> "The good old dames among the rest
> Were all most primitively drest
> In stiffen-bodyed russet gowns
> And on their heads old steeple crowns
> With pristine pinners next their faces
> Edged round with ancient scallop-laces,
> Such as, my antiquary says,
> Were worn in old Queen Bess's days,
> In ruffs; and fifty other ways
> Their wrinkled necks were covered o'er
> With whisks of lawn by granmams wore."

The "old steeple crowns" over "pristine pinners" were not peculiar to the Puritans. There was a time, in the first years of the seventeenth century, when many Englishwomen wore steeple-crowned hats with costly hatbands. We find them in pictures of women of the court, as well as upon the heads of Puritans. I have a dozen prints and portraits of Englishwomen in rich dress with these hats. The Quaker Tub-preacher, facing page 62, wears one. Perhaps the best known example to Americans may be seen in the portrait of Pocahontas facing page 122.

Authentic portraits of American women who came in the *Mayflower* or in the first ships to the Massa-

chusetts Bay settlement, there are none to my knowledge. Some exist which are doubtless of that day, but cannot be certified. One preserved in Connecticut in the family of Governor Eaton shows a brown old canvas like a Rembrandt. The subject is believed to be of the Yale family, and the chief and most distinct feature of dress is the ruff.

It was a time of change both of men's and women's neckwear. A few older women clung to the ruffs of their youth; younger women wore bands, falling-bands, falls, rebatoes, falling-whisks and whisks, the "fifty other ways" which could be counted everywhere. Carlyle says: —

"There are various traceable small threads of relation, interesting reciprocities and mutabilities connecting the poor young Infant, New England, with its old Puritan mother and her affairs, which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous by the Infant herself now she has grown big."

These traceable threads of relation are ever of romantic interest to me, and even when I refer to the dress of English folk I linger with pleasure with those whose lives were connected even by the smallest thread with the Infant, New England. One such thread of connection was in the life of Lady Mary Armine; so I choose to give her picture on page 60, to illustrate the dress, if not of a New Englander, yet of one of New England's closest friends. She was a noble, high-minded English gentlewoman, who gave "even to her dying day" to the conversion of poor tawny heathen of New England. A churchwoman by open profession, she was a Puri-

tan in her sympathies, as were many of England's best hearts and souls who never left the Church of England. She gave in one gift £500 to families of ministers who had been driven from their pulpits in England. The Nipmuck schools at Natick and Hassamanesit (near Grafton) were founded under her patronage. The life of this "Truly Honourable, Very Aged and Singularly Pious Lady who dyed 1675," was written as a "pattern to Ladies." Her long prosy epitaph, after enumerating the virtues of many of the name of Mary, concludes thus: —

> "The Army of such Ladies so Divine
> This Lady said 'I'll follow, they Ar-mine.'
> Lady Elect! in whom there did combine
> So many Maries, might well say All Ar-mine."

A pun was a Puritan's one jocularity; and he would pun even in an epitaph.

It will be seen that Lady Mary Armine wears the straight collar or band, and the black French hood which was the forerunner, then the rival, and at last the survivor of the "sugar-loaf" beaver or felt hat, — a hood with a history, which will have a chapter for the telling thereof. Lady Mary wears a peaked widow's cap under her hood; this also is a detail of much interest.

Another portrait of this date is of Mrs. Clark (see page 57). This has two singular details; namely, a thumb-ring, which was frequently owned but infrequently painted, and a singular bracelet, which is accurately described in the verse of Herrick, written at that date: —

"I saw about her spotless wrist
Of blackest silk a curious twist
Which circumvolving gently there
Enthralled her arm as prisoner."

I may say in passing that I have seen in portraits knots of narrow ribbon on the wrists, both of men and women, and I am sure they had some mourning significance, as did the knot of black on the left arm of the queen of King James of England.

We have in the portrait shown as a frontispiece an excellent presentment of the dress of the Puritan woman of refinement; the dress worn by the wives of Winthrop, Endicott, Leverett, Dudley, Saltonstall, and other gentlemen of Salem and Boston and Plymouth. We have also the dress worn by her little child about a year old. This portrait is of Madam Padishal. She was a Plymouth woman; and we know from the inventories of estates that there were not so many richly dressed women in Plymouth as in Boston and Salem. This dress of Madam Padishal's is certainly much richer than the ordinary attire of Plymouth dames of that generation.

This portrait has been preserved in Plymouth in the family of Judge Thomas, from whom it descended to the present owner. Madam Padishal was young and handsome when this portrait was painted. Her black velvet gown is shaped just like the gown of Madam Rawson (facing page 66), of Madam Stoddard (facing page 76), both Boston women; and of the English ladies of her times. It is much richer than that of Lady Mary Armine or Mrs. Clark.

The gown of Madam Padishal is varied pleasingly from that of Lady Mary Armine, in that the body is low-necked, and the lace whisk is worn over the bare neck. The pearl necklace and ear-rings likewise show a more frivolous spirit than that of the English dame.

Another Plymouth portrait of very rich dress, that of Elizabeth Paddy, Mrs. John Wensley, faces this page. The dress in this is a golden-brown brocade under-petticoat and satin overdress. The stiff, busked stays are equal to Queen Elizabeth's. Revers at the edge of overdress and on the virago sleeves are now of flame color, a Spanish pink, but were originally scarlet, I am sure. The narrow stomacher is a beaded galloon with bright spangles and bugles. On the hair there shows above the ears a curious ornament which resembles a band of this galloon. There are traces of a similar ornament in Madam Rawson's portrait (facing page 66); and Madam Stoddard's (facing page 76) has some ornament over the ears. This may have been a modification of a contemporary Dutch head-jewel. The pattern of the lace of Elizabeth Paddy's whisk is most distinct; it was a good costly Flemish parchment lace like Mrs. Padishal's. She carries a fan, and wears rings, a pearl necklace, and ear-rings. I may say here that I have never seen other jewels than these, — a few rings, and necklace and ear-rings of pearl. Other necklaces seem never to have been worn.

We cannot always trust that all the jewels seen in these portraits were real, or that the sitter owned as many as represented. A bill is in existence where

Elizabeth Paddy Wensley.

a painter charged ten shillings extra for bestowing a gold and pearl necklace upon his complaisant subject. In this case, however, the extra charge was to pay for the gold paint or gold-leaf used for gilding the painted necklace. In the amusing letters of Lady Sussex to Lord Verney are many relating to her portrait by Van Dyck. She consented to the painting very unwillingly, saying, "it is money ill bestowed." She writes: —

"Put Sr Vandyke in remembrance to do my pictuer well. I have seen sables with the clasp of them set with diamonds — if those I am pictured in were done so, I think it would look very well in the pictuer. If Sr Vandyke thinks it would do well I pray desier him to do all the clawes so. I do not mene the end of the tales but only the end of the other peces, they call them clawes I think."

This gives a glimpse of a richness of detail in dress even beyond our own day, and one which I commend to some New York dame of vast wealth, to have the claws of her sables set with diamonds. She writes later in two letters of some weeks' difference in date: —

"I am glad you have prefalede with Sr Vandyke to make my pictuer leaner, for truly it was too fat. If he made it farer it will bee to my credit. I am glad you have made Sr Vandyke mind my dress." . . .

"I am glad you have got home my pictuer, but I doubt he has made it lener or farer, but too rich in jewels, I am sure; but 'tis no great matter for another age to thinke mee richer than I was. I wish it could be mended in the face for sure 'tis very ugly. The pictuer is very ill-favourede,

makes me quite out of love with myselfe, the face is so bigg and so fat it pleases mee not at all. It looks like one of the Windes puffinge — (but truly I think it is lyke the original)."

I am struck by a likeness in workmanship in the portraits of these two Plymouth dames, and the portrait of Madam Stoddard (facing page 76), and succeeding illustrations of the Gibbes children. I do wish I knew whether these were painted by Tom Child — a painter-stainer and limner referred to by Judge Samuel Sewall in his Diary, who was living in Boston at that time. Perhaps we may find something, some day, to tell us this. I feel sure these were all painted in America, especially the portraits of the Gibbes children. A great many coats-of-arms were made in Boston at this time, and I expect the painter-stainer made them. All painting then was called coloring. A man would say in 1700, "Archer has set us a fine example of expense; he has colored his house, and has even laid one room in oils; he had the painter-stainer from Boston to do it — the man who limns faces, and does pieces, and tricks coats." This was absolutely correct English, but we would hardly know that the man meant: "Archer has been extravagant enough; he has painted his house, and even painted the woodwork of one room. He had the artist from Boston to do the work — the painter of faces and full-lengths, who makes coats-of-arms."

It is hard to associate the very melancholy countenance shown facing page 66 with a tradition of youth

and beauty. Had the portrait been painted after a romance of sorrow came to this young maid, Rebecca Rawson, we could understand her expression; but it was painted when she was young and beautiful, so beautiful that she caught the eye and the wandering affections of a wandering gentleman, who announced himself as the son of one nobleman and kinsman of many others, and persuaded this daughter of Secretary Edward Rawson to marry him, which she did in the presence of forty witnesses. This young married pair then went to London, where the husband deserted Rebecca, who found to her horror that she was not his wife, as he had at least one English wife living. Alone and proud, Rebecca Rawson supported herself and her child by painting on glass; and when at last she set out to return to her childhood's home, her life was lost at sea by shipwreck.

The portrait of another Boston woman of distinction, Mrs. Simeon Stoddard, is given facing page 76. I will attempt to explain who Mrs. Simeon Stoddard was. She was Mr. Stoddard's third widow and the third widow also of Peter Sergeant, builder of the Province House. Mr. Sergeant's second wife had been married twice before she married him, and Simeon Stoddard's father had four wives, all having been widows when he married them. Lastly, our Mrs. Simeon Stoddard, triumphing over death and this gallimaufry of Boston widows, took a fourth husband, the richest merchant in town, Samuel Shrimpton. Having had in all four husbands of

wealth, and with them and their accumulation of widows there must have been as a widow's mite an immense increment and inheritance of clothing (for clothing we know was a valued bequest), it is natural that we find her very richly dressed and with a distinctly haughty look upon her handsome face as becomes a conqueror both of men and widows.

The straight, lace collar, such as is worn by Madam Padishal and shown in all portraits of this date, is, I believe, a whisk.

The whisk was a very interesting and to us a puzzling article of attire, through the lack of precise description. It was at first called the falling-whisk, and is believed to have been simply the handsome, lace-edged, stiff, standing collar turned down over the shoulders. This collar had been both worn with the ruff and worn after it, and had been called a fall. Quicherat tells that the "whisk" came into universal use in 1644, when very low-necked gowns were worn, and that it was simply a kerchief or fichu to cover the neck.

We have a few side-lights to help us, as to the shape of the whisk, in the form of advertisements of lost whisks. In one case (1662) it is "a cambric whisk with Flanders lace, about a quarter of a yard broad, and a lace turning up about an inch broad, with a stock in the neck and a strap hanging down before." And in 1664 "A Tiffany Whisk with a great Lace down and a little one up, of large Flowers, and open work; with a Roul for the Head and Peak." The roll and peak were part of a cap.

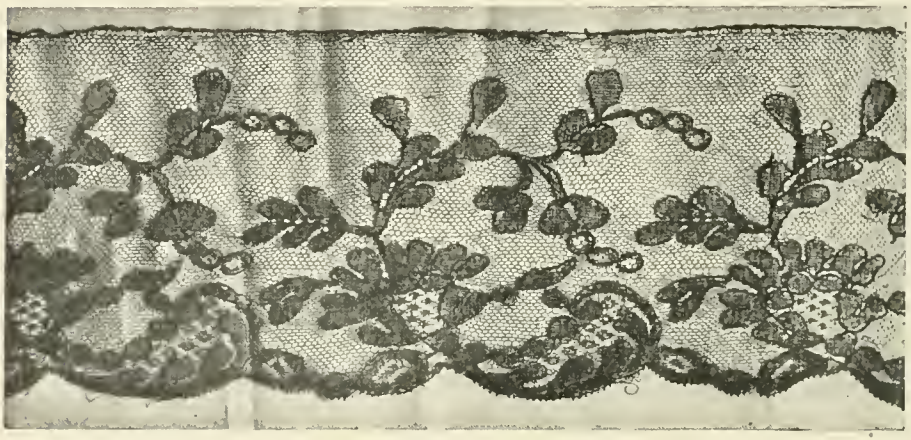
Mrs. Simeon Stoddard.

These portraits show whisks in slightly varying forms. We have the "broad Lace lying down" in the handsome band at the shoulder; the "little lace standing up" was a narrow lace edging the whisk at the throat or just above the broad lace. Sometimes the whisk was wholly of mull or lawn. The whisk was at first wholly a part of woman's attire, then for a time it was worn, in modified form, by men.

Madam Pepys had a white whisk in 1660 and then a "noble lace whisk." The same year she bought hers in London, Governor Berkeley paid half a pound for a tiffany whisk in Virginia. Many American women, probably all well-dressed women, had them. They are also seen on French portraits of the day. One of Madam de Maintenon shows precisely the same whisk as this of Madam Padishal's, tied in front with tiny knots of ribbon.

It will be noted that Madam Padishal has black lace frills about the upper portion of the sleeve, at the arm-scye. English portraits previous to the year 1660 seldom show black lace, and portraits are not many of the succeeding forty years which have black lace, so in this American portrait this detail is unusual. The wearing of black lace came into a short popularity in the year 1660, through compliment to the Spanish court upon the marriage of the young French king, Louis XIV, with the Infanta. The English court followed promptly. Pepys gloried in "our Mistress Stewart in black and white lace." It interests me to see how quickly American women had the very latest court fashions and wore them

even in uncourtlike America; such distinct novelties as black lace. Contemporary descriptions of dress are silent as to it by the year 1700, and it disappears from portraits until a century later, when we have pretty black lace collars, capes and fichus, as may be seen on the portraits of Mrs. Sedgwick, Mrs. Waldo, and others later in this book. These first black laces of 1660 are Bayeux laces, which are precisely like



Ancient Black Lace.

our Chantilly laces of to-day. This ancient piece of black lace has been carefully preserved in an old New York family. A portrait of the year 1690 has a black lace frill like the Maltese laces of to-day, with the same guipure pattern. But such laces were not made in Malta until after 1833. So it must have been a guipure lace of the kind known in England as parchment lace. This was made in the environs of Paris, but was seldom black, so this was a rare bit. It was sometimes made of gold and silver thread. Parchment lace was a favorite lace of Mary, Queen

of Scots, and through her good offices was peddled in England by French lace-makers. The black moiré hoods of Italian women sometimes had a narrow edge of black lace, and a little was brought to England on French hoods, but as a whole black lace was seldom seen or known.

An evidence of the widespread extent of fashions even in that day, a proof that English and French women and American women (when American women there were other than the native squaws) all dressed alike, is found in comparing portraits. An interesting one from the James Jackson Jarvis Collection is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is of an unknown woman and by an unknown artist, and is simply labelled "Of the School of Susteman." But this unknown Frenchwoman has a dress as precisely like Madam Padishal's and Madam Stoddard's as are Doucet's models of to-day like each other. All have the whisk of rich straight-edged lace, and the tiny knots of velvet ribbon. All have the sleeve knots, but the French portrait is gay in narrow red and buff ribbon.

Doubtless many have formed their notion of Puritan dress from the imaginary pictures of several popular modern artists. It can plainly be seen by any one who examines the portraits in this book that they are little like these modern representations. The single figures called "Priscilla" and "Rose Standish" are well known. The former is the better in costume, and could the close dark cloth or velvet hood with turned-back band, and plain linen edge displayed beneath, be exchanged for the horse-

shoe shaped French hood which was then and many years later the universal head-wear, the verisimilitude would be increased. This hood is shown on the portraits of Madam Rawson, Madam Stoddard, Mistress Paddy, and others in this book. Rose Standish's cap is a very pretty one, much prettier than the French hood, but I do not find it like any cap in English portraits of that day. Nor have I seen her picturesque sash. I do not deny the existence in portraits of 1620 of this cap and sash; I simply say that I have never found them myself in the hundreds of English portraits, effigies, etc., that I have examined.

It will be noted that the women in the modern pictures all wear aprons. I think this is correct as they are drawn in their everyday dress, but it will be noted that none of these portraits display an apron; nor was an apron part of any rich dress in the seventeenth century. The reign of the apron had been in the sixteenth century, and it came in again with Anne. Of course every woman in Massachusetts used aprons.

Early inventories of the effects of emigrant dames contain many an item of those housewifely garments. Jane Humphreys, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, had in her good wardrobe, in 1668, "2 Blew aprons, A White Holland Apron with a Small Lace at the bottom. A White Holland Apron with two breathes in it. My best white apron. My greene apron."

In the pictures, *The Return of the Mayflower* and *The Pilgrim Exiles*, the masculine dress therein displayed is very close to that of the real men of the

times. The great power of these pictures is, after all, not in the dress, but in the expression of the faces. The artist has portrayed the very spirit of pure religious feeling, self-denial, home-longing, and sadness of exile which we know must have been imprinted on those faces.

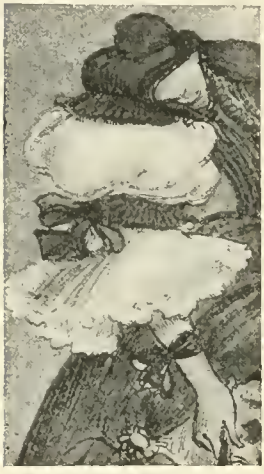
The lack of likeness in the women's dress is more through difference of figure and carriage and an indescribable cut of the garments than in detail, except in one adjunct, the sleeve, which is wholly unlike the seventeenth-century sleeve in these portraits. I have ever deemed the sleeve an important part both of a man's coat and a woman's gown. The tailor in the old play, *The Maid of the Mill*, says, "O Sleeve! O Sleeve! I'll study all night, madam, to magnify your sleeves!" By its inelegant shape a garment may be ruined. By its grace it accents the beauty of other portions of the apparel. In these pictures of Puritan attire, it has proved able to make or mar the likeness to the real dress. It is now a component part of both outer and inner garment. It was formerly extraneous.

In the reign of Henry VIII, the sleeve was generally a separate article of dress and the most gorgeous and richly ornamented portion of the dress. Outer and inner sleeves were worn by both men and women, for their doublets were sleeveless. Elizabeth gradually banished the outer hanging sleeve, though she retained the detached sleeve.

Sleeves had grown gravely offensive to Puritans; the slashing was excessive. A Massachusetts statute of 1634 specifies that "No man or woman shall

make or buy any slashed clothes other than one slash in each sleeve and another in the back. Men and women shall have liberty to wear out such apparell as they now are provided of except the immoderate great sleeves and slashed apparel."

Size and slashes were both held to be a waste of good cloth. "Immoderate great sleeves" could never be the simple coat sleeve with cuff in which our modern artists are given to depicting Virginian and New England dames. Doubtless the general shape of the dress was simple enough, but the sleeve was the only part which was not close and plain and unornamented. I have found no close coat sleeves with cuffs upon any old American portraits. I recall none on English portraits. You may see them, though rarely, in England under hanging sleeves upon figures which have proved valuable conservators of fashion, albeit sombre of design and rigid of form, namely, effigies in stone or metal upon old tombs; these not after the year 1620, though these are really a small "leg-of-mutton" sleeve being gathered into the arm-scye. A beautiful brass in a church on the Isle of Wight is dated 1615. This has long, hanging sleeves edged with leaflike points of cut-work; cuffs of similar work turn back from the wrists of the undersleeves. A *Satyr* by Fitz-geffrey, published the same year, complains that the wrists of women and men are clogged with bush-



Virago-sleeve.

points, ribbons, or rebato-twists. "Double cufts" is an entry in a Plymouth inventory — which explains itself. In the hundreds of inventories I have investigated I have never seen half a dozen entries of cuffs. The two or three I have found have been specified as "lace cuffs."

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, wrote with a vivid pen; one of his own followers said with severity, "He paints high." Some of his denunciations of the dress of his day afford a very good notion of the peculiarities of contemporary costume; though he may be read with this caution in mind. He writes deploringly of women's sleeves (in the year 1654); it will be noted that he refers to double cuffs: —

> "The women having their cuffs double under and above, like a butcher with his white sleeves, their ribands tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their clothes."

There were three generations of English heralds named Holme, all genealogists, and all artists; they have added much to our knowledge of old English dress. Randle Holme, the Chester herald, lived in the reign of Charles II, and increased a collection of manuscript begun by his grandfather and now forming part of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. He wrote also the *Academy of Armoury*, published in 1688, and made a vast number of drawiings for it, as well as for his other works. His note-books of drawings are preserved. In one of them he gives drawings of the sleeve which is found

on every seventeenth-century portrait of American women which I have ever seen. He calls this a virago-sleeve. It was worn in Queen Elizabeth's day, but was a French fashion. It is gathered very full in the shoulder and again at the wrist, or at the forearm. At intervals between, it is drawn in by gathering-strings of narrow ribbons, or ferret, which are tied in a pretty knot or rose on the upper part of the sleeve. One from a French portrait is given on page 82. Madam Ninon de l'Enclos also wears one. This gathering may be at the elbow, forming thus two puffs, or there may be several such drawing-strings. I have seen a virago-sleeve with five puffs. It is a fine decorative sleeve, not always shapely, perhaps, but affording in the pretty knots of ribbon some relief to the severity of the rest of the dress.

Ninon de l'Enclos.

Stubbes wrote, "Some have sleeves cut up the arm, drawn out with sundry colours, pointed with silk ribbands, and very gallantly tied with love knotts." It was at first a convention of fashion,

and it lingered long in some modification, that wherever there was a slash there was a knot of ribbon or a bunch of tags or aglets. This in its origin was really that the slash might be tied together. Ribbon knots were much worn; the early days of the great court of Louis XIV saw an infinite use of ribbons for men and women. When, in the closing years of the century, rows of these knots were placed on either side of the stiff busk with bars of ribbon forming a stomacher, they were called *echelles*, ladders. The *Ladies' Dictionary* (1694) says they were "much in request."

This virago-sleeve was worn by women of all ages and by children, both boys and girls. A virago-sleeve is worn by Rebecca Rawson (facing page 66), and by Mrs. Simeon Stoddard (facing page 76), by Madam Padishal and by her little girl, and by the Gibbes child shown later in the book.

A carved figure of Anne Stotevill (1631) is in Westminster Abbey. Her dress is a rich gown slightly open in front at the foot. It has ornamental hooks, or frogs, with a button at each end — these are in groups of three, from chin to toe. Four groups of three frogs each, on both sides, make twenty-four, thus giving forty-eight buttons. A stiff ruff is at the neck, and similar smaller ones at the wrist. She wears a French hood with a loose scarf over it. She has a very graceful virago-sleeve with handsome knots of ribbon.

It is certain that men's sleeves and women's sleeves kept ever close company. Neither followed the other; they walked abreast. If a woman's sleeves

were broad and scalloped, so was the man's. If the man had a tight and narrow sleeve, so did his wife. When women had virago-sleeves, so did men. Even in the nineteenth century, at the first coming of leg-of-mutton sleeves in 1830 *et seq.*, dandies' sleeves were gathered full at the armhole. In the second reign of these vast sleeves a few years ago, man had emancipated himself from the reign of woman's fashions, and his sleeves remained severely plain.

Small invoices of fashionable clothing were constantly being sent across seas. There were sent to and from England and other countries "ventures," which were either small lots of goods sent on speculation to be sold in the New World, or a small sum given by a private individual as a "venture," with instructions to purchase abroad anything of interest or value that was salable. To take charge of these petty commercial transactions, there existed an officer, now obsolete, known as a supercargo. It is told that one Providence ship went out with the ventures of one hundred and fifty neighbors on board — that is, one hundred and fifty persons had some money or property at stake on the trip. Three hundred ventures were placed with another supercargo. Sometimes women sent sage from their gardens, or ginseng if they could get it. A bunch of sage paid in China for a porcelain tea-set. Along the coast, women ventured food-supplies, — cheese, eggs, butter, dried apples, pickles, even hard gingerbread; another sent a barrel of cider vinegar. Clothes in small lots were constantly being bought and sold on a venture. From London, in Novem-

ber, 1667, Walter Banesely sent as a venture to William Pitkin in Hartford these articles of clothing with their prices: —

| | | £. | s. |
|---|---|---|---|
| "1 | Paire Pinck Colour'd mens hose . . . . | 1 | 6 |
| 10 | " Mens Silke Hose, 17*s* per pair . . . | 8 | 10 |
| 2 | " Womens " " 16*s* " " . . . | 1 | 12 |
| 10 | " " Green Hose . . . . . | 6 | 10 |
| 1 | Pinck Colour'd Stomacher made of Knotts . | 3 | 10 |
| 1 | Pinck Colour'd Wastcote | | |
| A | Black Sute of Padisuay. Hatt, | | |
| | Hatt band, Shoo knots & trunk. | | |
| The | wastcote and stomacher are a | | |
| Venture | of my wife's; the Silke Stockens mine own." | | |

There remains another means of information of the dress of Puritan women in what was the nearest approach to a collection of fashion-plates which the times afforded.

In the year 1640 a collection of twenty-six pictures of Englishwomen was issued by one Wenceslas Hollar, an engraver and drawing-master, with this title, *Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus. The severall Habits of Englishwomen, from the Nobilitie to the Country Woman As they are in these Times.* These bear the same relation to portraits showing what was really worn, as do fashion-plates to photographs. They give us the shapes of gowns, bonnets, etc., yet are not precisely the real thing. The value of this special set is found in three points: First, the drawings confirm the testimony of Lely, Van Dyck, and other artists; they prove how slightly Van Dyck idealized the costume of his sitters. Second, they give

representations of folk in the lower walks of life; such folk were not of course depicted in portraits. Third, the drawings are full length, which the portraits are not. Four of these drawings are reduced

Lady Catharina Howard.

facing page 96. I give on page 142 the one entitled *The Puritan Woman*, though it is one of the most disappointing in the whole collection. It is such a negative presentation; so little marked detail or even associated evidence is gained from it. I had a baffled thought after examining it that I knew less

of Puritan dress than without it. I see that they gather up their gowns for walking after a mode known in later years as washerwoman style. And by that very gathering up we lose what the drawing might have told us; namely, how the gowns were shaped in the back; how attached to the waist or bodice; and how the bodice was shaped at the waist, whether it had a straight belt, whether it was pointed, whether slashed in tabs or laps like a samare. The sleeve, too, is concealed, and the kerchief hides everything else. We know these kerchiefs were worn among the "fifty other ways," for some portraits have them; but the whisk was far more common. Lady Catharina Howard, aged eleven in the year 1646, was drawn by Hollar in a kerchief.

There had been some change in the names of women's attire in twenty years, since 1600, when the catalogue of the Queen's wardrobe was made. Exclusive of the Coronation, Garter, Parliament, and mourning robes, it ran thus: —

"Robes.
French gowns.
Round gowns.
Loose gowns.
Kirtles.
Foreparts.
Petticoats.
Cloaks.
Safeguards.
Jupes.
Doublets.
Lap mantles."

In her New Year's gifts were also, "strayt-bodyed gowns, trayn-gowns, waist-robes, night rayls, shoulder cloaks, inner sleeves, round kirtles." She also had nightgowns and jackets, and underwear, hose, and various forms of foot-gear.

Many of these garments never came to America. Some came under new names. Many quickly disappeared from wardrobes. I never read in early American inventories of robes, either French robes or plain robes. Round gowns, loose gowns, petticoats, cloaks, safeguards, lap mantles, sleeves, nightgowns, nightrails, and night-jackets continued in wear.

I have never found the word forepart in this distinctive signification nor the word kirtle; though our modern writers of historical novels are most liberal of kirtles to their heroines. It is a pretty, quaint name, and ought to have lingered with us; but "what a deformed thief this Fashion is" — it will not leave with us garment or name that we like simply because it pleases us.

Doublets were worn by women.

"The Women also have doublets and Jerkins as men have, buttoned up the brest, and made with Wings, Welts and Pinions on shoulder points as men's apparell is for all the world, & though this be a kind of attire appropriate only to Man yet they blush not to wear it."

Anne Hibbins, the *witch*, had a black satin doublet among other substantial attire.

A fellow-barrister of Governor John Winthrop, Sergeant Erasmus Earle, a most uxorious husband, was writing love-letters to his wife Frances, who lived out of London, at the same time that Winthrop was writing to Margaret Winthrop. Earle was much concerned over a certain doublet he had ordered for his wife. He had bought the blue bayes for this garment in two pieces, and he could not decide

whether the shorter piece should go into the sleeve or the body, whether it should have skirts or not. If it did not, then he had bought too much silver lace, which troubled him sorely.

Margaret Winthrop had better instincts; to her husband's query as to sending trimming for her doublet and gown, she answers, "*When I see the cloth* I will send word what trimming will serve;" and she writes to London, insisting on "the civilest fashion now in use," and for Sister Downing, who is still in England, to give Tailor Smith directions "that he may make it the better." Mr. Smith sent scissors and a hundred needles and the like homely gifts across seas as "tokens" to various members of the Winthrop household, showing his friendly intimacy with them all. For many years after America was settled we find no evidence that women's garments were ever made by mantua-makers. All the bills which exist are from tailors. One of William Sweatland for work done for Jonathan Corwin of Salem is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society: —

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| "Sept. 29, 1679. To plaiting a gown for Mrs. | | 3 | 6 |
| To makeing a Childs Coat . . . . . | | 6 | |
| To makeing a Scarlet petticoat with Silver Lace for Mrs. . . . . | | 9 | |
| For new makeing a plush somar for Mrs . | | 6 | |
| Dec. 22, 1679. For makeing a somar for your Maide . . . . . | | 10 | |
| Mar. 10, 1679. To a yard of Callico . . | | 2 | |
| To 1 Douzen and ½ of silver buttons . | | 1 | 6 |
| To Thread . . . . . | | | 4 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To makeing a broad cloth hatte . . . . | | 14 | |
| To makeing a haire Camcottcoat . . . . | | 9 | |
| To makeing new halfsleeves to a silk Coascett | | 1 | |
| March 25. To altering and fitting a paire of Stays for Mrs. . . . . | | 1 | |
| Ap. 2, 1680, to makeing a Gowne for ye Maide | | 10 | |
| May 20. For removing buttons of yr coat . | | | 6 |
| Juli 25, 1630. For makeing two Hatts and Jacketts for your two sonnes . . . . | | 19 | |
| Aug. 14. To makeing a white Scarsonnett plaited Gowne for Mrs. . . . . | | 8 | |
| To makeing a black broad cloth Coat for yourselfe . . . . . | | 9 | |
| Sept. 3, 1868. To makeing a Silke Laced Gowne for Mrs. . . . . | 1 | 8 | |
| Oct. 7, 1860, to makeing a Young Childs Coate . . . . . | | 4 | |
| To faceing your Owne Coat Sleeves . . . | | 1 | |
| To new plaiting a petty Coat for Mrs. . . | | 1 | 6 |
| Nov. 7. To makeing a black broad Cloth Gowne for Mrs. . . . . | | 18 | |
| Feb. 26, 1680–1. To Searing a Petty Coat for Mrs. . . . . | | 6 | |
| Sum is, | £8 | 4s. | 10d." |

From many bills and inventories we learn that the time of the settlement of Plymouth and Boston reached a transitional period in women's dress as it did in men's. Mrs. Winthrop had doublets as had Governor Winthrop, but I think her daughter wore gowns when her sons wore coats. The doublet for a woman was shaped like that of a man, and was of double thickness like a man's. It might be sleeve-

less, with a row of welts or wings around the armhole; or if it had sleeves the welts, or a roll or cap, still remained. The trimming of the arm-scye was universal, both for men and women. A fuller description of the doublet than has ever before been written will be given in the chapter upon the Evolution of the Coat. The "somar" which is the samare, named also in the bill of the Salem tailor, seems to have been a Dutch garment, and was so much worn in New York that I prefer to write of it in the following chapter. We are then left with the gown; the gown which took definite shape in Elizabeth's day. Of course no one could describe it like Stubbes. I frankly confess my inability to approach him. Read his words, so concise yet full of color and conveying detail; I protest it is wonderful.

"Their Gowns be no less famous, some of silk velvet grogram taffety fine cloth of forty shillings a yard. But if the whole gown be not silke or velvet then the same shall be layed with lace two or three fingers broade all over the gowne or the most parte. Or if not so (as Lace is not fine enough sometimes) then it must be garded with great gardes of costly Lace, and as these gowns be of sundry colours so they be of divers fashions changing with the Moon. Some with sleeves hanging down to their skirts, trayling on the ground, and cast over the shoulders like a cow's tayle. These have sleeves much shorter, cut up the arme, and pointed with Silke-ribons very gallantly tyed with true loves knottes — (for soe they call them). Some have capes fastened down to the middist of their backs, faced with velvet or else with some fine wrought silk Taffeetie at the least, and fringed about Bravely, and

(to sum up all in a word) some are pleated and ryveled down the back wonderfully with more knacks than I can declare."

The guards of lace a finger broad laid on over the seams of the gown are described by Pepys in his day. He had some of these guards of gold lace taken from the seams of one of his wife's old gowns to overlay the seams of one of his own cassocks and rig it up for wear, just as he took his wife's old muff, like a thrifty husband, and bought her a new muff, like a kind one. Not such a domestic frugalist was he, though, as his contemporary, the great political economist, Dudley North, Baron Guildford, Lord Sheriff of London, who loved to sit with his wife ripping off the old guards of lace from her gown, "unpicking" her gown, he called it, and was not at all secret about it. Both men walked abroad to survey the gems and guards worn by their neighbors' wives, and to bring home word of new stuffs, new trimmings, to their own wives. Really a seventeenth-century husband was not so bad. Note in my *Life of Margaret Winthrop* how Winthrop's fellow-barrister, Sergeant Erasmus Earle, bought camlet and lace, and patterns for doublets for his wife Frances Fontayne, and ran from London clothier to London mantua-maker, and then to London haberdasher and London tailor, to learn the newest weaves of cloth, the newest drawing in of the sleeves. I know no nineteenth-century husband of that name who would hunt materials and sleeve patterns, and buy doublet laces and find gown-guards for his wife. And then the gown sleeves! What

a description by Stubbes of the virago-sleeve "tied in and knotted with silk ribbons in love-knots!" It is all wonderful to read.

We learn from these tailors' bills that tailors' work embraced far more articles than to-day; in the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, 1659, a tailor's shop has hanging upon the wall woollen hats, breeches, waistcoats, jackets, women's cloaks, and petticoats. There are also either long hose or lasts for stretching hose, for they made stockings, leggins, gaiters, buskins; also a number of boxes which look like muff-boxes. One tailor at work is seated upon a platform raised about a foot from the floor. His seat is a curious bench with two legs about two feet long and two about one foot long. The base of the two long legs are on the floor, the other two set upon the platform. The tailor's feet are on the platform, thus his work is held well up before his face. Sometimes his legs are crossed upon the platform in front of him. The platform was necessary, or, at any rate, advisable for another reason. The habits of Englishmen at that time, their manners and customs, I mean, were not tidy; and floors were very dirty. Any garment resting on the floor would have been too soiled for a gentleman's wear before it was donned at all.

I have discovered one thing about old-time tailors, — they were just as trying as their successors, and had as many tricks of trade. A writer in 1582 says, "If a tailor makes your gown too little, he covers his fault with a broad stomacher; if too great, with a number of pleats; if too short, with a fine guard; if too long with a false gathering."

In several of the household accounts of colonial dames which I have examined I have found the prices and items very confusing and irregular when compared with tailors' bills and descriptive notes and letters accompanying them. And in one case I was fain to believe that the lady's account-book had been kept upon the plan devised by the simple Mrs. Pepys, — a plan which did anger her spouse Samuel "most mightily." He was filled with admiration of her household-lists — her kitchen accounts. He admired in the modern sense of the word "admire"; then he admired in the old-time meaning — of suspicious wonder. For albeit she could do through his strenuous teaching but simple sums in "Arithmetique," had never even attempted long division, yet she always rendered to her husband perfectly balanced accounts, month after month. At last, to his angry queries, she whimpered that "whenever she doe misse a sum of money, she do add some sums to other things," till she made it perfectly correct in her book — a piece of such simple duplicity that I wonder her husband had not suspected it months before. And she also revealed to him that she "would lay aside money for a necklace" by pretending to pay more for household supplies than she really had, and then tying up the extra amount in a stocking foot. He writes, "I find she is very cunning and when she makes least show hath her wits at work; and *so* to my office to my accounts."

Costumes of Englishwomen of the Seventeenth Century.

# CHAPTER III

## ATTIRE OF VIRGINIA DAMES AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

"*Two things I love, two usuall thinges they are:*
*The Firste, New-fashioned cloaths I love to wear,*
*Newe Tires, newe Ruffes; aye, and newe Gestures too*
*In all newe Fashions I do love to goe.*
*The Second Thing I love is this, I weene*
*To ride aboute to have those Newe Cloaths seene.*

"*At every Gossipping I am at still*
*And ever wilbe — maye I have my will.*
*For at ones own Home, praie — who is't can see*
*How fyne in new-found fashioned Tyres we bee?*
*Vnless our Husbands — Faith! but very fewe! —*
*And whoo'd goe gaie, to please a Husband's view?*
*Alas! wee wives doe take but small Delight*
*If none (besides our husbands) see that Sight.*"

— "The Gossipping Wives Complaint," 1611 (circa).

# CHAPTER III

## ATTIRE OF VIRGINIA DAMES AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

IT is a matter of deep regret that no "Lists of Apparel" were made out for the women emigrants in any of the colonies. Doubtless many came who had a distinct allotment of clothing, among them the redemptioners. We know one case, that of the "Casket Girls," of Louisiana, where a group of "virtuous, modest, well-carriaged young maids" each had a casket or box of clothing supplied to her as part of her payment for emigration. I wish we had these lists, not that I should deem them of great value or accuracy in one respect since they would have been made out naturally by men, but because I should like to read the struggles of the average shipping-clerk or supercargo, or even shipping-master or company's president, over the items of women's dress. One reason why the lists we have in the court records are so wildly spelled and often vague is, I am sure, because the recording-clerks were always men. Such hopeless puzzles as droll or drowlas, cale or caul or kail, chatto or shadow, shabbaroon or chaperone, have come to us through these poor struggling gentlemen.

There are not to my knowledge any portraits in existence of the wives of the first Dutch settlers of New Netherland. They would have been dressed, I am sure, in the full dress of Holland vrouws. We can turn to the court records of New Netherland to learn the exact item of the dress of the settlers. Let me give in full this inventory of an exceptionally rich and varied wardrobe of Madam Jacob de Lange of New Amsterdam, 1662 : —

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| One under petticoat with a body of red bay | 1 | 7 | |
| One under petticoat, scarlet | 1 | 15 | |
| One petticoat, red cloth with black lace | 2 | 15 | |
| One striped stuff petticoat with black lace | 1 | 8 | |
| Two colored drugget petticoats with gray linings | 1 | 2 | |
| Two colored drugget petticoats with white linings | | 18 | |
| One colored drugget petticoat with pointed lace | | 8 | |
| One black silk petticoat with ash gray silk lining | 1 | 10 | |
| One potto-foo silk petticoat with black silk lining | 2 | 15 | |
| One potto-foo silk petticoat with taffeta lining | 1 | 13 | |
| One silk potoso-a-samare with lace | 3 | | |
| One tartanel samare with tucker | 1 | 10 | |
| One black silk crape samare with tucker | 1 | 10 | |
| Three flowered calico samares | 2 | 17 | |
| Three calico nightgowns, one flowered, two red | | 7 | |
| One silk waistcoat, one calico waistcoat | | 14 | |
| One pair of bodices | | 4 | |
| Five pair white cotton stockings | | 9 | |
| Three black love-hoods | | 5 | |

THE ACTORS' EQUITY ASS



| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| One white love-hood | | 2 | 6 |
| Two pair sleeves with great lace | 1 | 3 | |
| Four cornet caps with lace | 3 | | |
| One black silk rain cloth cap | | 10 | |
| One black plush mask | | 1 | 6 |
| Four yellow lace drowlas | | 2 | |

This is a most interesting list of garments. The sleeves with great lace must from their price have been very rich articles of dress. The yellow lace drowlas, since there were four of them (and no other neckerchiefs, such as gorgets, piccadillies, or whisks are named), must have been neckwear of some form. I suspect they are the lace drowls or drolls to which I refer in a succeeding chapter on A Vain Puritan Grandmother. The rain cloth cap of black silk is curious also, being intended to wear over another cap or a love-hood. The cornet caps with lace are a Dutch fashion. The "lace" was in the form of lappets or pinners which flapped down at the side of the face over the ears and almost over the cheeks. Evelyn speaks of a woman in "a cornet with the upper pinner dangling about her cheeks like hound's ears." Cotgrave tells in rather vague definition that a cornet is "a fashion of Shadow or Boone Grace used in old time and to this day by old women." It was not like a bongrace, nor like the cap I always have termed a shadow, but it had two points like broad horns or ears with lace or gauze spread over both and hanging from these horns. Cornets and corneted caps are often in Dutch inventories in early New York. And

they can be seen in old Dutch pictures. They were one of the few distinctly Dutch modes that lingered in New Netherland; but by the third generation from the settlement they had disappeared.

Mrs. Livingstone.

What the words "potto-foo" and "potoso-a-samare" mean I cannot decipher. I have tried to find Dutch words allied in sound but in vain. I believe the samare was a Dutch fashion. We rarely find samares worn in Virginia and Maryland, but the name frequently occurs in the first Dutch inventories in New Netherland and occasionally in the

Connecticut valley, where there were a few Dutch settlers; occasionally also in Plymouth, whose first settlers had been for a number of years under Dutch influences in Holland; and rarely in Salem and Boston, whose planters also had felt Dutch influences through the settling in Essex and Suffolk of opulent Flemish and Dutch "clothiers" — cloth-workers. These Dutchmen had married English-women, and their presence in English homes was distinctly shown by the use then and to the present day of Dutch words, Dutch articles of dress, furniture, and food. From these Dutch-settled shires of Essex and Suffolk came John Winthrop and all the so-called Bay Emigration.

I am convinced that a samare was a certain garment which I have seen in French, Dutch, and English portraits of the day. It is a tight-fitting jacket or waist or bodice — call it what you will; its skirt or portion below the belt-line is four to eight inches deep, cut up in tabs or oblong flaps, four on each side. These slits are to the belt line. It is, to explain further, a basque, tight-fitting or with the waist laid in plaits, and with the basque skirt cut in eight tabs. These laps or tabs set out rather stiffly and squarely over the full-gathered petticoats of the day.

I turn to a Dutch dictionary for a definition of the word "samare," though my Dutch dictionary being of the date 1735 is too recent a publication to be of much value. In it a samare is defined simply as a woman's gown. Randle Holme says, rather vaguely, that it is a short jacket for women's wear

with four side-laps, reaching to the knees. In this rich wardrobe of the widow De Lange, twelve petticoats are enumerated and no overdress-jacket or doublet of any kind except those samares. Their price shows that they were not a small garment. One "silk potoso-a-samare with lace" was worth £3. One "tartanel samare with tucker" was worth £1 10*s*. One "black silk crape samare with tucker" was worth £1 10*s*., and three "flowered calico" samares were worth £2 10*s*. They were evidently of varying weights for summer and winter wear, and were worn over the rich petticoat.

The bill of the Salem tailor, William Sweatland (1679), shows that he charged 9*s*. for making a scarlet petticoat with silver lace; for making a black broadcloth gown 18*s*.; while "new-makeing a plush somar for M^rs.^" (which was making over) was 6*s*.; "making a somar for your Maide" was 10*s*., which was the same price he charged for making a gown for the maid.

The colors in the Dutch gowns were uniformly gay. Madam Cornelia de Vos in a green cloth petticoat, a red and blue "Haarlamer" waistcoat, a pair of red and yellow sleeves, a white cornet cap, green stockings with crimson clocks, and a purple "Pooyse" apron was a blooming flower-bed of color.

I fear we have unconsciously formed our mental pictures of our Dutch forefathers through the vivid descriptions of Washington Irving. We certainly cannot improve upon his account of the Dutch housewife of New Amsterdam: —

Mrs. Magdalen Beekman.

"Their hair, untortured by the abominations of art, was scrupulously pomatumed back from their foreheads with a candle, and covered with a little cap of quilted calico, which fitted exactly to their heads. Their petticoats of linsey-woolsey were striped with a variety of gorgeous dyes, though I must confess those gallant garments were rather short, scarce reaching below the knee; but then they made up in the number, which generally equalled that of the gentlemen's small-clothes; and what is still more praise-worthy, they were all of their own manufacture, — of which circumstance, as may well be supposed, they were not a little vain.

"Those were the honest days, in which every woman stayed at home, read the Bible, and wore pockets, — ay, and that, too, of a goodly size, fashioned with patchwork into many curious devices, and ostentatiously worn on the outside. These, in fact, were convenient receptacles where all good housewives carefully stored away such things as they wished to have at hand; by which means they often came to be incredibly crammed.

"Besides these notable pockets, they likewise wore scissors and pincushions suspended from their girdles by red ribbons, or, among the more opulent and showy classes, by brass and even silver chains, indubitable tokens of thrifty housewives and industrious spinsters. I cannot say much in vindication of the shortness of the petticoats; it doubtless was introduced for the purpose of giving the stockings a chance to be seen, which were generally of blue worsted, with magnificent red clocks; or perhaps to display a well-turned ankle and a neat though serviceable foot, set off by a high-heeled leathern shoe, with a large and splendid silver buckle.

"There was a secret charm in those petticoats, which no doubt entered into the consideration of the prudent gallants. The wardrobe of a lady was in those days her only

fortune; and she who had a good stock of petticoats and stockings was as absolutely an heiress as is a Kamtschatka damsel with a store of bear-skins, or a Lapland belle with plenty of reindeer."

A Boston lady, Madam Knights, visiting New York in 1704, wrote also with clear pen: —

"The English go very fashionable in their dress. But the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women, in their habitt go loose, wear French muches wch are like a Capp and headband in one, leaving their ears bare, which are sett out with jewells of a large size and many in number; and their fingers hoop't with rings, some with large stones in them of many Coullers, as were their pendants in their ears, which you should see very old women wear as well as Young."

The jewels of one settler of New Amsterdam were unusually rich (in 1650), and were enumerated thus: —

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| One embroidered purse with silver bugle and chain to the girdle and silver hook and eye | 1 | 4 | |
| One pair black pendants, gold nocks . . . | | 10 | |
| One gold boat, wherein thirteen diamonds & one white coral chain . . . . . | 16 | | |
| One pair gold stucks or pendants each with ten diamonds . . . . . | 25 | | |
| Two diamond rings . . . . . | 24 | | |
| One gold ring with clasp beck . . . . . | | 12 | |
| One gold ring or hoop bound round with diamonds . . . . . | 2 | 10 | |

These jewels were owned by the wife of an English-born citizen; but some of the Dutch

dames had handsome jewels, especially rich chatelaines with their equipages and etuis with rich and useful articles in variety. When we read of such articles, we find it difficult to credit the words of an English clergyman who visited Albany about the year 1700; namely, that he found the Dutch women of best Albany families going about their homes in summer time and doing their household work while barefooted.

Many conditions existed in Maryland which were found nowhere else in the colonies. These were chiefly topographical. The bay and its many and accommodative tide-water estuaries gave the planters the means, not only of easy, cheap, and speedy communication with each other, but with the whole world. It was a freedom of intercourse not given to any other *agricultural* community in the whole world. It was said that every planter had salt water within a rifle-shot of his front gate — therefore the world was open to him. The tide is never strong enough on this shore to hinder a sailboat nor is the current of the rivers perceptible. The crop of the settlers was wholly tobacco — indeed, all the processes of government, of society, of domestic life, began and ended with tobacco. It was a wonderfully lucrative crop, but it was an unhappy one for any colony; for the tobacco ships arrived in fleets only in May and June, when the crops were ready for market. The ships could come in anywhere by tide-water. Hence there were two or three months of intense excitement, or jollity, lavishness, extravagance, when these ships were in;

a regular Bartholomew Fair of disorder, coarse wit, and rough fun; and the rest of the year there was nothing; no business, no money, no fun. Often the planter found himself after a month of June gambling and fun with three years' crops pledged in advance to his creditors. The factor then played his part; took a mortgage, perhaps, on both crops and plantation; and invariably ended in owning everything. A striking but coarse picture of the traffic and its evils is given in *The Sot-weed Factor*, a poem of the day.

Lady Anne Clifford.

Land and living were cheap in this tobacco land, but labor was needed for the sudden crops; so negro slaves were bought, and warm invitations were sent back to England for all and every kind of labor. Convicts were welcomed, redemptioners were eagerly sought for; and the scrupulous laws which were made for their protection were blazoned in England. Many laborers were "crimped," too, in England, and brought of course, willy-nilly, to Maryland. Landlords were even granted lands in proportion to their number of servants; a hundred acres per capita was the allowance. It can readily be seen that an

ambitious or unscrupulous planter would gather in in some way as many heads as possible.

Maryland under the Baltimores was the only colony that then admitted convicts — that is, admitted them openly and legally. She even greeted them warmly, eager for the labor of their hands, which was often skilled labor; welcomed them for their wits, albeit these had often been ill applied; welcomed them for their manners, often amply refined; welcomed them for their possibilities of rehabilitation of morals and behavior.

The kidnapped servants did not fare badly. Many examples are known where they worked on until they had acquired ample means; still the literature of the day is full of complaints such as this in *The Sot-weed Factor*: —

> " Not then a slave; for twice two years
> My clothes were fashionably new.
> Nor were my shifts of linen blue.
> But Things are Changed. Now at the Hoe
> I daily work; and Barefoot go.
> In weeding Corn, or feeding Swine
> I spend my melancholy time."

Cheap ballads were sold in England warning English maidens against kidnapping.

In the collection of Old Black Letter Ballads in the British Museum is one entitled *The Trappan'd Maiden or the Distress'd Damsel.* Its date is believed to be 1670.

> " The Girl was cunningly trappan'd
> Sent to Virginny from England.

Where she doth Hardship undergo ;
There is no cure, it must be so ;
But if she lives to cross the Main
She vows she'll ne'er go there again.
Give ear unto a Maid
That lately was betray'd
And sent unto Virginny O.
In brief I shall declare
What I have suffered there
When that I was weary, O.
The cloathes that I brought in
They are worn so thin
In the Land of Virginny O.
Which makes me for to say
Alas ! and well-a-day
When that I was weary, O."

The indentured servant, the redemptioner, or free-willer saw before him, at the close of his seven years term, a home in a teeming land ; he would own fifty acres of that land with three barrels, an axe, a gun, and a hoe — truly, the world was his. He would have also a suit of kersey, strong hose, a shirt, French fall shoes, and a good hat, — a Monmouth cap, — a suit worthy any man. Abigail had an equal start, a petticoat and waistcoat of strong wool, a perpetuana or callimaneo, two blue aprons, two linen caps, a pair of new shoes, two pairs of new stockings and a smock, and three barrels of Indian corn.

We find that many of these redemptioners became soldiers in the colonial wars, often distinguished for bravery. This was through a law passed by the British government that all who enlisted in military service in the colonies were released by that act from further bondage.

In the year 1659, on an autumn day, two white men with an Indian guide paddled swiftly over the waters of Chesapeake Bay on business of much import. They had come from Manhattan, and bore

Lady Herrman.

despatches from Governor Stuyvesant to the governor of Maryland, relating to the ever troublesome query of those days, namely, the exact placing of boundary lines. One of these men was Augustine Herrman, a man of parts, who had been ambassador to Rhode Island, a ship-owner, and man of

executive ability, which was proven by his offer to Lord Baltimore to draw a map of Maryland and the surrounding country in exchange for a tract of land at the head of the bay. He was a land-surveyor, and drew an excellent map; and he received the four thousand acres afterwards known as Bohemia Manor. His portrait and that of his wife exist; they are wretched daubs, as were many of the portraits of the day, but, nevertheless, her dress is plainly revealed by it. You can see a copy of it on page 111. The overdress, pleated body, and upper sleeve are green. The little lace collar is drawn up with a tiny ribbon just as we see collars to-day. Her hair is simplicity itself. The full undersleeves and heavy ear-rings give a little richness to the dress, which is not English nor is it Dutch.

It is easy to know the items of the dress of the early Virginian settlers, where any court records exist. Many, of course, have perished in the terrible devastations of two long wars; but wherever they have escaped destruction all the records of church and town in the various counties of Virginia have been carefully transcribed and certified, and are open to consultation in the Virginia State Library at Richmond, where many of the originals are also preserved. Many have also been printed. Mr. Bruce, in his fine book, *The Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, has given frequent extracts from these certified records. From them and from the originals I gain much knowledge of the dress of the planters at that time. It

varied little from dress in the New England colonies save that Virginians were richer than New Englanders, and so had more costly apparel. Almost nothing was manufactured in Virginia. The plainest and simplest articles of dress, save those of homespun stuffs, were ordered from England, as well as richer garments. We see even in George Washington's day, until he was prevented by war, that he sent frequent orders, wherein elaborately detailed attire was ordered with the pettiest articles for household and plantation use.

Elizabeth Cromwell.

Mrs. Francis Pritchard of Lancaster, Virginia (in 1660), we find had a representative wardrobe. She owned an olive-colored silk petticoat, another of silk tabby, and one of flowered tabby, one of velvet, and one of white striped dimity. Her printed calico gown was lined with blue silk, thus proving how much calico was valued. Other bodices were a striped dimity jacket and a black silk waistcoat. To wear with these were a pair of scarlet sleeves and other sleeves of ruffled holland. Five aprons, various neckwear of Flanders lace, and several rich handkerchiefs completed a gay costume to which green silk stockings gave an additional touch of

color. Green was distinctly the favorite color for hose among all the early settlers; and nearly all the inventories in Virginia have that entry.

Mrs. Sarah Willoughby of Lower Norfolk, Virginia, had at the same date a like gay wardrobe, valued, however, at but £14. Petticoats of calico, striped linen, India silk, worsted prunella, and red, blue, and black silk were accompanied with scarlet waistcoats with silver lace, a white knit waistcoat, a "pair of red paragon bodices," and another pair of sky-colored satin bodices. She had also a striped stuff jacket, a worsted prunella mantle, and a black silk gown. There were distinctions in the shape of the outer garments — mantles, jackets, and gowns. Hoods, aprons, and bands completed her comfortable attire.

Though so much of the clothing of the Virginia planters was made in England, there was certain work done by home tailors; such work as repairs, alterations, making children's common clothing, and the like, also the clothing of upper servants. Often the tailor himself was a bond-servant. Thus, Luke Mathews, a tailor from Hereford, England, was bound to Thomas Landon for a term of two years from the day he landed. He was to have sixpence a day while working for the Landon family, but when working for other persons half of whatever he earned. In the Lancaster County records is a tailor's account (one Noah Rogers) from the year 1690 to 1709; it was paid, of course, in tobacco. We may set the tobacco as worth about twopence a pound. It will be thus seen from the following items that prices in Virginia were higher than in New England: —

| | Pounds |
|---|---|
| For making seven womens' Jacketts | 70 |
| For making a Coat for yr Wife | 60 |
| For altering a Plush Britches | 20 |
| For Yr Wife & Daughturs Jackett | 30 |
| For yr Britches | 20 |
| Coat | 40 |
| Yr Boys Jacketts | 20 |
| Yr Sons britches | 25 |
| Yr Eldest Sons Ticking Suite | 60 |
| To making 1 Dimity Waistcoat, Serge suite 2 Cotton Waistcoats and yr Dimity Coat | 185 |
| For a pr of buff Gloves | 100 |
| For 1 Neck Cloth | 12 |
| A pr of Stockings | 120 |
| A pr Callimmaneo britches | 60 |

Another bill of the year 1643 reads: —

| | Pounds |
|---|---|
| To making a suit with buttons to it | 80 |
| 1 ell canvas | 30 |
| for dimothy linings | 30 |
| for buttons & silke | 50 |
| for points | 50 |
| for taffeta | 58 |
| for belly pieces | 40 |
| for hooks & eies | 10 |
| for ribbonin for pockets | 20 |
| for stiffinin for a collar | 10 |
| Sum | 378 |

The extraordinary prices of one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco for making a pair of stockings, and one hundred for a pair of gloves, when

making a coat was but forty, must remain a seventeenth-century puzzle. This coat was probably a petticoat. It is curious, too, to find a tailor making gloves and stockings at any price. I think both buff gloves and stockings were of leather. Perhaps he charged thus broadly because it was "not in his line." Work in leather was always well paid. We find tailors making leather breeches and leather drawers; the latter could not be the garments thus named to-day. Tailors became prosperous and well-to-do, perhaps because they worked in winter when other Virginia tradesfolk were idle; and they acquired large tracts of land.

The conditions of settlement of Virginia were somewhat different from those of the planting of New England. We find the land of many Massachusetts towns wholly taken up by a group of settlers who emigrated together from the Old World and gathered into a town together in the New. It was like the transferal of a neighborhood. It brought about many happy results of mutual helpfulness and interdependence. From it arose that system of domestic service in which the children of friends rendered helpful duty in other households and were called help. Nothing of the kind existed in Virginia. There was far less neighborhood life. Plantations were isolated. Lines of demarcation in domestic service were much more definite where black life slaves and white bond-servants for a term of years performed all household service. For the daughter of one Virginia household to "help" in the work in another household was unknown. Each

system had its benefits; each had its drawbacks. Neither has wholly survived; but something better has been evolved, in spite of our lamentations for the good old times.

Life is better ordered, but it is not so picturesque as when negro servants swarmed in the kitchen, and German, Scotch, and Irish redemptioners served in varied callings. There was vast variety of attire to be found on the Virginia and Maryland plantations and in the few towns of these colonies. The black slaves wore homespun cloths and homespun stuff, crocus and Virginia cloth; and the women were happy if they could crown their simple attire with gay turbans. Indians stalked up to the plantation doors, halted in silence, and added their gay dress of the wild woods. German sectaries and mystics fared on garbed in their simple peasant dress. Irish sturdy beggars idled and fiddled through existence, in dress of shabby gentility, with always a wig. "Wild-Irish" came in brogues and Irish trousers. Sailors and pirates came ashore gayly dressed in varied costume, with gay sashes full of pistols and cutlasses, swaggering from wharf to plantation. Queer details of dress had all these varied souls; some have lingered to puzzle us.

A year ago I had sent to me, by a descendant of an old Virginia family, a photograph of a curious gold medal or disk, a family relic which was evidently a token of some importance, since it bore tiny holes and had marks of having been affixed as an insignia. Though I could decipher the bold initials, cut in openwork, I could judge little by the colorless

photograph, and finally with due misgivings and great precautions in careful packing, insurance, etc., the priceless family relic was intrusted to an express company for transmission to my inspection. Glad indeed was I that the owner had not presented it in person; for the decoration of honor, the insignia of rank, the trophy of prowess in war or emblem of conquest in love, was the pauper's badge of a Maryland or Virginia parish. It was not a pleasant task to write back the mortifying news; but I am proud of the letter which I composed; no one could have done the deed better.

There was an old law in Virginia which ran thus:—

"Every person who shall receive relief from the parish and be sent to the said alms-house, shall, upon the shoulder of the right sleeve of his uppermost garment in an open and visible manner, wear a badge with the name of the parish to which he or she belongs, cut in red, blue or green cloth, as the vestry or church wardens shall direct. And if any poor person shall neglect or refuse to wear such badge, such offense may be punished either by ordering his or her allowance to be abridged, suspended or withdrawn, or the offender to be whipped not exceeding five lashes for one offense; and if any person not entitled to relief as aforesaid, shall presume to wear such badge, he or she shall be whipped for every such offense."

This law did not mean the full name of the parish, but significant initials. Sometimes the initials "P P" were employed, standing for public pauper. In other counties a metal badge was ordered, often cast in pewter. In one case a die-cutter was made by which an oblong brass badge could be cut, and

stamps of letters to stamp the badges accompanied it. Sometimes these badges were three inches long.

The expression, "the badge of poverty," became a literal one when all persons receiving parochial relief had to wear a large Roman "P" with the initial of their parish set on the right sleeve of the uppermost garment in an open and visible manner. Likewise all pensioners were ordered to wear their badges "so they may be seen." A pauper who refused to do this might be whipped and imprisoned for twenty-one days. Moreover, if the parish beadle neglected to spy out that the badge was missing from some poor pensioner, he had to pay half a crown himself. This legality was necessitated by actions like that of the English goody, who, when ordered to wear this pauper's badge, demurely fastened it to her flannel petticoat. For this law, like all the early Virginia statutes, was simply a transcript of English laws. In New York, for some years in the eighteenth century, the parish poor — there were no paupers — were ordered to wear these badges.

This mode of stigmatizing offenders as well as paupers was in force in the earlier days of all the colonies. Its existence in New England has been immortalized in *The Scarlet Letter*. I have given in my book, *Curious Punishments of By-gone Days*, many examples of the wearing of significant letters by criminals in various New England towns, in Plymouth, Salem, Taunton, Boston, Hartford, New London, also in New York. It offered a singular and striking detail of costume to see William Bacon in Boston, and Robert Coles in Roxbury,

wearing "hanged about their necks on their outerd garment a D made of Ridd cloth sett on white." A Boston woman wore a great "B," not for Boston, but for blasphemy. John Davis wore a "V" for viciousness. Others were forced to wear for years a heavy cord around the neck, signifying that the offender lived under the shadow of the gallows and its rope.

But return we to the metal badge which has caused this diversion to so gloomy a subject as crime and punishment. It was simply an oblong plate about three and one-half inches long, of humble metal — pinchbeck, or alchemy — but plated heavily with gold, therefore readily mistaken for solid gold; upon it the telltale initials "P P" had been stamped with a die, while smaller letters read "St. J. Psh." These confirmed my immediate suspicions, for I had seen an order of relief for a stricken wanderer — an order for two weeks' relief, where the wardens of "St. J. Psh." ordered the sheriff to send the pauper on — to make him "move along" to some other parish. This gold badge was not unlike the metal badges worn on the left arm by "Bedlam beggars," the licensed beggars of Bethlehem Hospital, the half-cured patients of that asylum for lunatics.

The owner of this badge with ancient letters had not idly accepted them, or jumped at the conclusion that it was a decoration of honor for his ancestor. He had searched its history long, and he had found in Hall's *Chronicles of the Pageants and Progress of the English Kings* ample reference to similar letters, but not as pauper's badges. Indeed,

like many another well-read and intelligent person, he had never heard of pauper's badges. He read:—

"In this garden was the King and five with him apparyelled in garments of purpull satyn, every edge garnished with frysed golde and every garment full of posyes made of letters of fine gold, of bullion as thick as might be. And six Ladyes wore rochettes rouled with crymosyn velvet and set with lettres like Carettes. And after the Kyng and his compaignions had daunsed, he appointed the Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Ambassadours to take the lettres off their garments in token of liberalyte. Which thing the common people perceiving, ranne to them and stripped them. And at this banket a shypman of London caught certayn lettres which he sould to a goldsmith for £3. 14*s*. 8*d*."

All this was pleasing to the vanity of our friend, who fancied his letters as having taken part in a like pageant; perhaps as a gift of the king himself. We must remember that he believed his badge of pure gold. He did not know it was a base metal, plated. He proudly pictured his forbears taking part in some kingly pageant. He scorned so modern and commonplace a possibility as a society like Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, which was formed of Virginian gentlefolk.

It plainly was a relic of some romance, and in the strangely picturesque events of the early years in this New World need not, though a pauper's badge, have been a badge of dishonor. What strange event or happening, or scene had it overlooked? Why had it been covered with its golden sheet? Was it in defiance or in satire, in remorse, or in revenge, or in humble and grateful recognition

of some strange and protecting Providence? We shall never know. It was certainly not an agreeable discovery, to think that your great-grandmother or grandfather had probably been branded as a public pauper; but there were strange exiles and strange paupers in those days, exiles through political parties, through the disfavor of kings, through religious conviction, and the pauper of the golden badge, the pauper of "St. J. Psh.," may have ended his days as vestryman of that very church. Certain it was, that no ordinary pauper would have, or could have, thus preserved it; and from similar reverses and glorifying equally base objects came the subjects of half the crests of English heraldry.

The likeness of Pocahontas (facing this page) is dated 1616. It is in the dress of a well-to-do Englishwoman, a woman of importance and means. This portrait has been a shock to many who idealized the Indian princess as "that sweet American girl," as Thackeray called her. Especially is it disagreeable in many of the common prints from it. One flippant young friend, the wife of an army officer, who had been stationed in the far West, said of it, in disgust, remembering her frontier residence, "With a man's hat on! just like every old Indian squaw!" This hat is certainly displeasing, but it was not worn through Indian taste; it was an English fashion, seen on women of wealth as well as of the plainer sort. I have a score of prints and photographs of English portraits, wherein this mannish hat is shown. In the original of this portrait of Pocahontas, the heavy, sombre effect is

MATOAKA ALS REBECKA FILIA POTENTISS
IN POWHATANI IMP VIRGINIÆ
Ætatis suæ 21. A. 1616
Matoaks als Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince
Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughkomouck als Virginia
converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and
Wife to the Wor.ll Mr Tho: Rolfe.

Pocahontas.

much lightened by the gold hatband. These rich hatbands were one of the articles of dress prohibited as vain and extravagant by the Massachusetts magistrates. They were costly luxuries. We find them named and valued in many inventories in all the colonies, and John Pory, secretary of the Virginia colony, wrote about that time to a friend in England a sentence which has given, I think to all who read it, an exaggerated notion of the dress of Virginians: —

"Our cowekeeper here of James citty on Sundays goes accoutred all in ffreshe fflaminge silke, and a wife of one that had in England professed the blacke arte not of a Scholler but of a Collier weares her rough beaver hatt with a faire perle hatband, and a silken sute there to correspond."

Corroborative evidence of the richness and great cost of these hatbands is found in a letter of Susan Moseley to Governor Yardley of Virginia, telling of the exchange of a hatband and jewel for four young cows, one older cow and four oxen, on account of her "great want of cattle." She writes on "this Last July 1650, at Elizabeth River in Virginia": —

"I had rayther your wife should weare them then any gentle woman I yet know in ye country; but good Sir have *no* scruple concerninge their rightnesse, for I went my selfe from Rotterdam to ye haugh (The Hague) to inquire of ye gould smiths and found y't they weare all Right, therefore thats without question, and for ye hat band y't alone coste five hundred gilders as my husband knows verry well and will tell you soe when he sees you; for ye Juell and

ye ringe they weare made for me at Rotterdam and I paid in good rex dollars sixty gilders for ye Juell and fivety and two gilders for ye ringe, which comes to in English monny eleaven poundes fower shillings. I have sent the sute and Ringe by your servant, and I wish Mrs. Yeardley health and prosperity to weare them in, and give you both thanks for your kind token. When my husband comes home we will see to gett ye Cattell home, in ye meantime I present my Love and service to your selfe & wife, and commit you all to God, and remaine,

"Your friend and servant,

"Susan Moseley."

The purchasing value of five hundred guilders, the cost of the hatband, would be equal to-day to nearly a thousand dollars.

In the portrait of Pocahontas in the original, there is also much liveliness of color, a rich scarlet with heavy braidings; these all lessen somewhat the forbidding presence of the stiff hat. She carries a fan of ostrich feathers, such as are depicted in portraits of Queen Elizabeth.

These feather fans had little looking-glasses of silvered glass or polished steel set at the base of the feathers. Euphues says, "The glasses you carry in fans of feathers show you to be lighter than feathers; the new-found glass chains that you wear about your necks, argue you to be more brittle than glass."

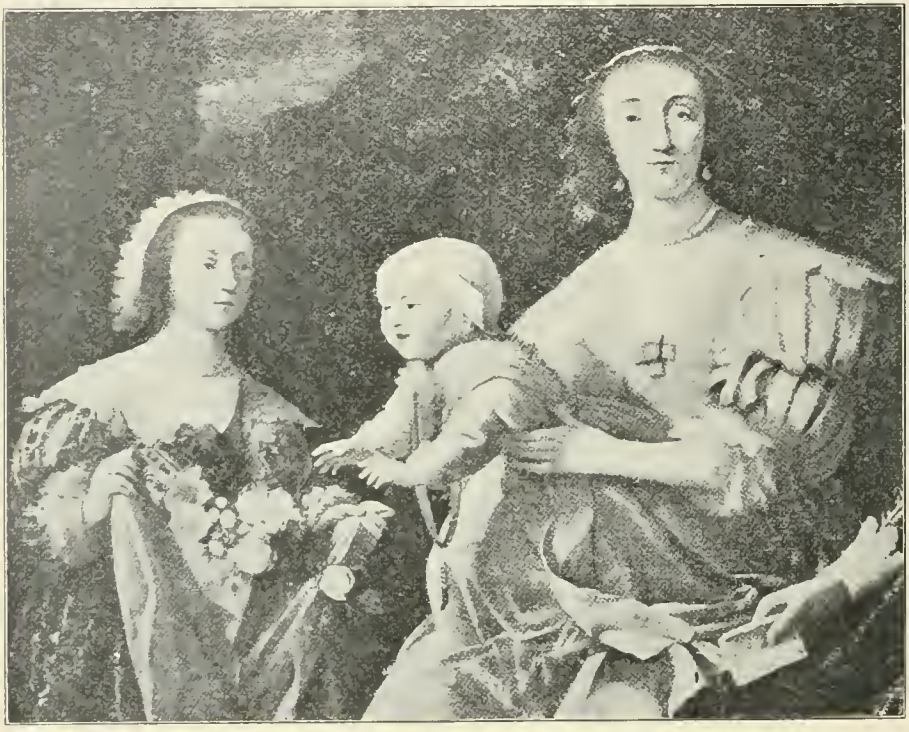
These fans were, in the queen's hands, as large as hand fire-screens; many were given to her as New Year's gifts or other tokens, one by Sir Francis Drake. This makes me believe that they were a

fashion taken from the North American Indians and eagerly adopted in England; where, for two centuries, everything related to the red-men of the New World was seized upon with avidity — except their costume.

The hat worn by Pocahontas, or a lower crowned form of it, is seen in the Hollar drawing of Puritan women (facing page 96), where it seems specially ugly and ineffective, and on the Quaker Tub-preacher. It lingered for many years, perched on top of French hoods, close caps, kerchiefs, and other variety of head-gear worn by women of all ranks; never elegant, never becoming. I can think of no reason for its long existence and dominance save its costliness. It was not imitated, so it kept its place as long as the supply of beaver was ample. This hat was also durable. A good beaver hat was not for a year nor even for a generation. It lasted easily half a century. But we all know that the beaver disappeared suddenly from our forests; and as a sequence the beaver hat was no longer available for common wear. It still held its place as a splendid, feather-trimmed, rich article of dress, a hat for dress wear, and it was then comely and becoming. Within a few years, through national and state protection, the beaver, most interesting of wild creatures, has increased and multiplied in North America until it has become in certain localities a serious pest to lumbermen. We must revive the fashion of real beaver hats — that will speedily exterminate the race.

It always has seemed strange to me that, in the prodigious interest felt in England for the American

Indian, an interest shown in the thronging, gaping sight-seers that surrounded every taciturn red-man who visited the Old World, no fashions of ornament or dress were copied as gay, novel, or becoming. The Indian afforded startling detail to interest



Duchess of Buckingham and her Two Children.

the most jaded fashion-seeker. The *Works of Captain John Smith*, Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, the works of Roger Williams, of John Josselyn, the letters of various missionaries, give full accounts of their brilliant attire; and many of these works were illustrated. The beautiful mantles of the Virginia squaws, made of carefully dressed skins,

were tastefully fringed and embroidered with tiny white beads and minute disks of copper, like spangles, which, with the buff of the dressed skin, made a charming color-study — copper and buff — picked out with white. Sometimes small brilliant shells or feathers were added to the fringes. An Indian princess, writes one chronicler, wore a fair white deerskin with a frontal of white coral and pendants of "great but imperfect-colored and worse-drilled pearls" — our modern baroque pearls. A chain of linked copper encircled her neck; and her maid brought to her a mantle called a "puttawas" of glossy blue feathers sewed so thickly and evenly that it seemed like heavy purple satin.

A traveller wrote thus of an Indian squaw and brave: —

"His wife was very well favored, of medium stature and very bashful. She had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body. About her forehead she had a band of white coral. In her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her waist. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and some of the children of the King's brother and other noblemen, had five or six in either ear. He himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold or copper, for being unpolished we knew not which metal it might be, neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head. His apparel was like his wife's, only the women wear their hair long on both sides of the head, and the men on but one side. They are of color yellowish, and their hair black for the most part, and yet we saw children who had very fine auburn and chestnut colored hair."

John Josselyn wrote of tawny beauties: —

"They are girt about the middle with a Zone wrought with Blue and White Beads into Pretty Works. Of these Beads they have Bracelets for the Neck and Arms, and Links to hang in their Ears, and a Fair Table curiously made up with Beads Likewise to wear before their Breast. Their Hair they combe backward, and tye it up short with a Border about two Handsfull broad, wrought in works as the Other with their Beads.

Powhatan's "Habit" still exists. It is in England, in the Tradescant Collection which formed the nucleus of the Ashmolean Collection. It was probably presented by Captain John Smith himself. It is made of two deerskins ornamented with "roanoke" shell-work, about seven feet long by five feet wide. Roanoke is akin to wampum, but this is made of West Indian shells. The figures are circles, a crude human figure and two mythical composite animals. He also wore fine mantles of raccoon skins. A conjurer's dress was simply a girdle with a single deerskin, while a great blackbird with outstretched wings was fastened to one ear — a striking ornament. I am always delighted to read such proof as this of a fact that I have ever known, namely, that the American Indian is the most accomplished, the most telling *poseur* the world has ever known. The ear of the Indian man and woman was pierced along the entire outer edge and filled with long drops, a fringe of coral, gold, and pearl. The wives of Powhatan wore triple strings of great pearls close around their throats, and a long string over one

shoulder, while their mantles were draped to show their full handsome neck and arms. Altogether, with their carefully dressed hair, they would have made in full dress a fine show in a modern opera-box, and, indeed, the Indian squaws did cause vast exhibition of curiosity and delight when they visited London and were taken sight-seeing and sight-seen.

As early as 1629 an Indian chief with his wife and son came from Nova Scotia to England. Lord Poulet paid them much attention in Somersetshire, and Lady Poulet took Lady Squaw up to London and gave her a necklace and a diamond, which I suppose she wore with her blue and white beads.

Be the story of the saving of John Smith by Pocahontas a myth or the truth, it forever lives a beautiful and tender reality in the hearts of American children. Pocahontas was not the only Indian squaw who played a kindly part in the first colonization of this country. There were many, though their deeds and names are forgotten; and there was one Indian woman whose influence was much greater and more prolonged than was that of Pocahontas, and was haloed with many years of exciting adventure as well as romance. Let me recount a few details of her life, that you may wonder with me that the only trace of Indian life marked indelibly on England was found on the swinging signs of inns known by the name of "The Bell Savage," "La Belle Sauvage," and even "The Savage and Bell."

This second Indian squaw was a South Carolina neighbor of our beloved Pocahontas; she had not, alas, the lovely disposition and noble character of

Powhatan's daughter. She was systematically and constitutionally mischievous, like a rogue elephant, so I call her a rogue squaw. Her name was Coosaponakasee. The name is too long and too hard to say with frequency, so we will do as did her English friends and foes — call her Mary. Indeed, she was baptized Mary, for she was a half-breed, and her white father had her reared like a Christian, had her educated like an English girl as far as could be done in the little primitive settlement of Ponpon, South Carolina. It will be shown that the attempt was not over-successful.

She was a princess, the niece of crafty old Brim, the king of two powerful tribes of Georgia Indians, the Creeks and Uchees. In 1715, when she was about fifteen years old, a fierce Indian war broke out in the early spring, and at the defeat of the Indians she promptly left her school and her church and went out into the wilds, a savage among savages, preferring defeat and a wild summer in the woods with her own people to decorous victory within doors with her fellow Christians.

The following year an Englishman, Colonel John Musgrove, accompanied by his son, went out as a mediator to the Creek Indians to secure their friendship, or at any rate their neutrality. The young squaw, Mary, served as interpreter, and the younger English pacificator promptly proved his amicable disposition by falling in love with her. He did what was more unusual, he married her; and soon they set up a large trading-house on the Savannah River, where they prospered beyond belief. On the arrival

A Woman's Doublet. Mrs. Anne Turner.

of the shipload of emigrants sent out by the Trustees of Georgia the English found Mary Musgrove and her husband already carrying on a large trade, in securing and transacting which she had served as interpreter. When Oglethorpe landed, he at once went to her, and asked permission to settle near her trading-station. She welcomed him, helped him, interpreted for him, and kept things in general running smoothly in the settlement between the English and the Indians. The two became close friends, and as long as generous but confiding Oglethorpe remained, all went well in the settlement; but in time he returned to England, giving her a handsome diamond ring in token of his esteem. Her husband died soon after and she removed to a new station called Mount Venture. Oglethorpe shortly wrote of her: —

"I find that there is the utmost endeavour by the Spaniards to destroy her because she is of consequence and in the King's interests; therefor it is the business of the King's friends to support her; besides which I shall always be desirous to serve her out of the friendship she has shown me as well as the colony."

In a letter of John Wesley's written to Lady Oglethorpe, and now preserved in the Georgia Historical Society, he refers frequently to Mary Musgrove, saying: —

"I had with me an interpreter the half-breed, Mary Musgrove, and daily had meetings for instruction and prayer. One woman was baptized. She was of them who came out of great tribulation, her husband and all her three chil-

dren having been drowned four days before in crossing the Ogeechee River. Her happiness in the gospel caused me to feel that, like Job, the widow's heart had been caused to sing for joy. She was married again the day following her baptism. I suggested longer days of mourning. She replied that her first husband was surely dead; and that his successor was of much substance, owning a cornfield and gun. I doubt the interpreter Mary Musgrove, that she is yet in the valley and shadow of darkness."

One can picture the excitement of the Choctaw squaw to lose her husband and children, and to get another husband and religion in a week's time. Her reply that her husband "was surely dead" bears a close resemblance to the hackneyed story of the response to a charivari query of the Dutch bridegroom who had been a widower but a week, "Ain't my vife as deadt as she ever vill be?"

Her usefulness continued. If a "talk" were had with the Indians in Savannah, Fredonia, or any other settlement, Mary had to be sent for; if Indian warriors had to be hired, to keep an army against the Spanish or marauding Indians, Mary obtained them from her own people. If land were bought of the Indians, Mary made the trade. She soon married Captain Matthews, who had been sent out with a small English troop to protect her trading-post; he also speedily died, leaving her free, after alliances with trade and war, to find a third husband in ecclesiastical circles, in the person of one Chaplain Bosomworth, a parson of much pomposity and ambition, and of liberal education without a liberal brain. He had had a goodly grant of lands

to prompt and encourage him in his missionary endeavors; and he was under the direction and protection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His mission was to convert the Indians, and he began by marrying one; he then proceeded to break the law by bringing in the first load of negro slaves in that colony, a trade which was positively prohibited by the conditions and laws of the colony. When his illegal traffic was stopped, he got his wife to send in back claims to the colony of Georgia for $25,000 as interpreter, mediator, agent, etc., for the English. She had already been paid about a thousand dollars. This demand being promptly refused, the hitherto pacific and friendly Mary, edged on by that sorry specimen of a parson, her husband, began a series of annoying and extraordinary capers. She declared herself empress of Georgia, and after sending her half-brother, a full-blooded Indian, as an advance-courier, she came with a body of Indians to Savannah. The Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, decked in full canonical robes, headed the Indians by the side of his empress wife, dressed in Indian costume; and an imposing procession they made, with plenty of theatrical color. At first the desperate colonists thought of seizing Mary and shipping her off to England to Oglethorpe, but this notion was abandoned. As the English soldiers were very few at that special time, and the Indian warriors many, we can well believe that the colonists were well scared, the more so that when the Indians were asked the reason of their visit, "their answers were very trifling and very

dark." So a feast was offered them, but Mary and her brother refused to come and to eat; and the dinner was scarcely under way when more armed Indians appeared from all quarters in the streets, running up and down in an uproar, and the town was in great confusion. The alarm drums were beaten, and it was reported that the Indians had cut off the head of the president as they sat together at the feast. Every man in the colony turned out in full arms for duty, the women and children gathered in groups in their homes in unspeakable terror. Then the president and his assistants who had been at the dinner, and who had gone unarmed to show their friendly intent, did what they should have done in the beginning, seized that disreputable specimen of an English missionary, the Rev. Mr. Bosomworth, and put him in prison; and we wonder they kept their hands off him as long as they did. Still trying to settle the matter without bloodshed, the president asked the Indian chiefs to adjourn to his house "to drink a glass of wine and talk the matter over." Into this conference came Mary, bereft of her husband, raging like a madwoman, threatening the lives of the magistrates, swearing she would annihilate the colony. "A fig for your general," screamed she, "you own not a foot of land in this colony. The whole earth is mine." Whereupon the Empress of Georgia, too, was placed under military guard.

Then a harassing week of apprehension ensued; the Indians were fed, and parleyed with, and reasoned with, and explained to. At last Mary's

brother Malatche, at a conference, presented as a final demand a paper setting forth plainly the claims of the Indians. The sequel of this presentation is almost comic. The paper was so evidently the production of Bosomworth, and so wholly for his own personal benefit and not for that of the Indians, and the astonishment of the president and his council was so great at his vast and open assumption, that the Indians were bewildered in turn by the strange and unexpected manner of the white men upon reading the paper; and childishly begged to have the paper back again "to give to him who made it." A plain exposition of Bosomworth's greed and craft followed, and all seemed amicably explained and settled, and the Creeks offered to smoke the pipe of peace; when in came Mary, having escaped her guards, full of rum and of rancor. The president said to her in a low voice that unless she ceased brawling and quarrelling he would at once put her into close confinement; she turned in a rage to her brother, and translated the threat. He and every Indian in the room sprang to their feet, drew tomahawks, and for a short time a complete massacre was imminent. Then the captain of the guard, Captain Noble Jones, who had chafed under all this explaining diplomacy, lost his much-tried patience, and like a brave and fearless English soldier ordered the Indians to surrender arms. Though far greater in number than the English, they yielded to his intrepidity and wrath; and the following night and day they sneaked out of the town, as ordered, by twos and threes.

For one month this fright and commotion and expense had existed; and at last wholly alone were left the two contemptible malcontents and instigators of it all. Mr. and Mrs. Bosomworth thereafter ate very humble pie; he begged sorely and cried tearfully to be forgiven; and he wailed so deeply and promised so broadly that at last the two were publicly pardoned.

Yet, after all, they had their own way; for they soon went to London and cut an infinitely fine figure there. Mary was the top of the mode, and there Bosomworth managed to get for his wife lands and coin to the amount of about a hundred thousand dollars.

The prosperous twain returned to America in triumph, and built a curious and large house on an island they had acquired; in it the Empress did not long reign; at her death the Rev. Mr. Bosomworth married his chambermaid.

Such is the sorry tale of the Indian squaw and the English parson, a tale the more despicable because, though she had been reared in English ways, baptized in the English faith, had been the friend of English men and women, and married three English husbands; yet when fifty years old she returned at vicious suggestion with promptitude and fierceness to violent savage ways, to incite a massacre of her friends. And that suggestion came not from her barbarian kin, but from an English gentleman — a Christian priest.

# CHAPTER IV

## A VAIN PURITAN GRANDMOTHER

"*Things farre-fetched and deare-bought are good for Ladies.*"

— "Arte of English Poesie," G. PUTTENHAM, 1589.

"*I honour a Woman that can honour herself with her Attire. A good Text deserves a Fair Margent.*"

— "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," J. WARD, 1713.

# CHAPTER IV

## A VAIN PURITAN GRANDMOTHER

THERE was a certain family prominent in affairs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with members resident in England, New England, and the Barbadoes. They were gentlefolk — and gentle folk; they were of birth and breeding; and they were kindly, tender, affectionate to one another. They were given to much letter-writing, and better still to much letter-keeping. Knowing the quality of their letters, I cannot wonder at either habit; for the prevalence of the letter-keeping was due, I am sure, to the perfection of the writing. Their letters were ever lively in diction, direct and lucid in description, and widely varied in interest; therefore they were well worthy of preservation, simply for the owner's re-reading. They have proved so for all who have brushed the dust from the packages and deciphered the faded words. Moreover, these letters are among the few family letters of our two centuries which convey, either to the original reader or to his successor of to-day, anything that could, by most generous construction or fullest imagination, be deemed equivalent to what we now term News.

Of course their epistles contained many moral reflections and ample religious allusions and aspirations; and they even transcribed to each other, in full, long Biblical quotations with as much exactness and length as if each deemed his correspondent a benighted heathen, with no Bible to consult, instead of being an equally pious kinsman with a Bible in every room of his house.

Their name was Hall. The heads of the family in early colonial days were the merchants John Hall and Hugh Hall; these surnames have continued in the family till the present time, as has the cunning of hand and wit of brain in letter-writing, even into the seventh and eighth generation, as I can abundantly testify from my own private correspondence. I have quoted freely in several of my books from old family letters and business letter-books of the Hall family. Many of these letters have been intrusted to me from the family archives; others, especially the business letters, have found their way, through devious paths, to our several historical societies; where they have been lost in oblivion, hidden through churlishness, displayed in pride, or offered in helpfulness, as suited the various humors of their custodians. To the safe, wise, and generous guardianship of the American Antiquarian Society fell a collection of letters of the years 1663 to 1684, written from London by the merchant John Hall to his mother, Madam Rebekah Symonds, who, after a fourth matrimonial venture, — successful, as were all her marriages, — was living, in what must have seemed painful seclusion to any Londoner, in the

struggling little New England hamlet of Ipswich, Massachusetts.

I wish to note as a light-giving fact in regard to these letters that the Halls were as happy in marrying as in letter-writing, and as assiduous. They married early; they married late. And by each marriage increased wonderfully either the number of descendants, or of influential family connections, who were often also business associates.

Madam Symonds had four excellent husbands, more than her share of good fortune. She married Henry Byley in 1636; John Hall in 1641; William Worcester in 1650; and Deputy Governor Symonds in 1663. She was, therefore, in 1664, scarcely more than a bride (if one may be so termed for the fourth time), when many costly garments were sent to her by her devoted and loving son, John Hall; she was then about forty-eight years of age. Her husband, Governor Symonds, was a gentle and noble old Puritan gentleman, a New Englishman of the best type; a Christian of missionary spirit who wrote that he "could go singing to his grave" if he felt sure that the poor benighted Indians were won to Christ. His stepson, John Hall, never failed in respectful and affectionate messages to him and sedately appropriate gifts, such as "men's knives." Governor Symonds had two sons and six married daughters by two — or three — previous marriages. He died in Boston in 1678.

A triangle of mutual helpfulness and prosperity was formed by England, New England, and the

A Puritan Dame.

Barbadoes in this widespread relationship of the Hall family in matrimony, business, kin, and friendly allies. England sent to the Barbadoes English trading-stuffs and judiciously cheap and attractive trinkets. The islands sent to New England sugar and molasses, and also the young children born in the islands, to be educated in Boston schools ere they went to English universities, or were presented in the English court and London society. There was one school in Boston established expressly for the children of the Barbadoes planters. You may read in a later chapter upon the dress of old-time children of some naughty grandchildren of John Hall who were sent to this Boston school

and to the care of another oft-married grandmother. In this triangle, New England returned to the Barbadoes non-perishable and most lucrative rum and salt codfish — codfish for the many fast-days of the Roman Catholic Church; New England rum to exchange with profit for slaves, coffee, and sugar. The Barbadoes and New England sent good, solid Spanish coin to England, both for investment and domestic purchases; and England sent to New England what is of value to us in this book — the latest fashions.

When I ponder on the conditions of life in Ipswich at the time these letters were written — the few good houses, the small amount of tilled land, the entire lack of all the elegancies of social life; when I think upon the proximity and ferocity of the Indian tribes and the ever present terror of their invasion; when I picture the gloom, the dread, the oppression of the vast, close-lying, primeval forest, —then the rich articles of dress and elaborate explanation of the modes despatched by John Hall to his mother would seem more than incongruous, they would be ridiculous, did I not know what a factor dress was in public life in that day.

Poor Madam Symonds dreaded deeply lest The Plague be sent to her in her fine garments from London; and her dutiful son wrote her to have no fear, that he bought her finery himself, in safe shops, from reliable dealers, and kept all for a month in his own home where none had been infected. But she must have had fear of disaster and death more intimately menacing to her home than was The Plague.

She had seen the career of genial Master Rowlandson, a neighbor's son, full of naughtiness, fun, and life. While an undergraduate at Harvard College he had written in doggerel what was termed pompously a "scandalous libell," and he had pinned it on the door of Ipswich Meeting-house, along with the tax-collector's and road-mender's notices and the announcement of intending marriages, and the grinning wolves' heads brought for reward. For this prank he had been soundly whipped by the college president on the College Green; but it did not prevent his graduating with honor at the head of his class. He was valedictorian, class-orator, class-poet — in fact, I may say that he had full honors. (I have to add also that in his case honors were easy; for his class, of the year 1652, had but one graduate, himself.) The gay, mischievous boy had become a faithful, zealous, noble preacher to the Puritan church in the neighboring town of Lancaster; and in one cruel night, in 1676, his home was destroyed, the whole town made desolate, his parishioners slaughtered, and his wife, Esther Rowlandson, carried off by the savage red-men, from whom she was bravely rescued by my far-off grandfather, John Hoar. Read the thrilling story of her "captivation" and rescue, and then think of Madam Symonds's finery in her gilt trunk in the near-by town. For four years the valley of the Nashua — blood-stained, fire-blackened — lay desolate and unsettled before Madam Symonds's eyes; then settlers slowly crept in. But for fifty years Ipswich was not deemed a safe home nor free from dread of cruel Indians; "Lovewell's War"

dragged on in 1726. But mantuas and masks, whisks and drolls, were just as eagerly sought by the governor's wife as if Esther Rowlandson's capture had been a dream.

There was a soured, abusive, intolerant old fellow in New England in the year 1700, a "vituperative epithetizer," ready to throw mud on everything around him (though not working — to my knowledge — in cleaning out any mud-holes). He was not abusive because he was a Puritan, but because "it was his nature to." He styled himself a "Simple Cobbler," and he announced himself "willing to Mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered both in the upper Leather and in the Sole, with all the Honest Stitches he can take," but he took out his aid in loud hammering of his lapstone and noisy protesting against all other footwear than his own. I fancy he thought himself another Stubbes. I know of no whole soles he set, nor any holes he mended, and his "Simple" ideas are so involved in expression, in such twisted sentences, and with such "strange Ink-pot termes" and so many Latin quotations and derivatives, that I doubt if many sensible folk knew what he meant, even in his own day. His words have none of the directness, the force, the interest that have the writings of old Stubbes. Such words as nugiperous, perquisquilian, ill-shapen-shotten, nudistertian, futulous, overturcased, quæmatry, surquedryes, prodromie, would seem to apply ill to woman's attire; they really fall wide of the mark if intended as weapons, but it was to such vain dames as the governor's wife that the Simple Cobbler

applied them. Some of the ministers of the colony, terrified by the Indian outbreaks, gloomily held the vanity and extravagance of dames and goodwives as responsible for them all. Others, with broader minds, could discern that both the open and the subtle influence of good clothes was needed in the new community. They gave an air of cheerfulness, of substance, of stability, which is of importance in any new venture. For the governor's wife to dress richly and in the best London modes added lustre to the governor's office. And when the excitement had quieted and the sullen Indian sachem and his tawny braves stalked through the little town in their gay, barbaric trappings, they were sensible that Madam Symonds's embroidered satin manteau was rich and costly, even if they did not know what we know, that it was the top of the mode.

Governor Symonds's home in Ipswich was on the ground where the old seminary building now stands; but the happy married pair spent much of the time at his farm-house on Argilla Farm, on Heart-Break Hill, by Labor-in-vain Creek, which was also in Ipswich County. This lonely farm, so sad in name, was the only dwelling-place in that region; it was so remote that when Indian assault was daily feared, the general court voted to station there a guard of soldiers at public expense because the governor was "so much in the country's service." He says distinctly, however, concerning the bargain in the purchase of Argilla Farm, that his wife was well content with it.

There were also intimate personal considerations which would apparently render so luxurious a ward-

Penelope Winslow.

robe unnecessary and unsuitable. The age and health of the wearer might generally be held to be sufficient reason for indifference to such costly, delicate, and gay finery. When Madam Symonds was fifty-eight years old, in 1674, her son wrote, "Oh, Good Mother, grieved am I to learn that Craziness creeps upon you, yet am I glad that you have Faith to look beyond this Life." Craziness had originally no meaning of infirmity of mind; it meant feebleness, weakness of body. Her letters evidently informed him of failing health, but even that did not hinder the export of London finery.

Governor Symonds's estate at his death was under £3000, and Argilla Farm was valued only at £150; yet Madam had a "Manto" which is marked distinctly in her son's own handwriting as costing £30. She had money of her own, and estates in England, of which John Hall kept an account, and with the income of which he made these purchases. This manteau was of flowered satin, and had silver clasps and a rich pair of embroidered satin sleeves to wear with it; it was evidently like a sleeveless cape. We must always remember that seventeenth-century accounts must be multiplied by five to give twentieth-century values. Even this valuation is inadequate. Therefore the £30 paid for the manteau would to-day be £150; $800 would nearly represent the original value. As it was sent in early autumn it was evidently a winter garment, and it must have been furred with sable to be so costly.

In the early inventories of all the colonies "a pair of sleeves" is a frequent item, and to my delight —

when so seldom color is given — I have more than once a pair of green sleeves.

"Thy gown was of the grassy green
Thy sleeves of satin hanging by,
Which made thee be our harvest queen
And yet thou wouldst not love me.
Green sleeves was all my joy,
Green sleeves was my delight,
Green sleeves was my Heart of Gold,
And who but Lady Green-sleeves!"

Let me recount some of "My Good Son's labors of love and pride in London shops" for his vain old mother. She had written in the year 1675 for lawn whisks, but he is quick to respond that she has made a very countrified mistake.

"Lawn whisks is not now worn either by Gentil or simple, young or old. Instead whereof I have bought a shape and ruffles, what is now the ware of the bravest as well as the young ones. Such as goe not with naked neckes, wear a black whisk over it. Therefore I have not only bought a plain one you sent for, but also a Lustre one, such as are most in fashion."

John Hall's "lustre for whisks" was of course lustring, or lutestring, a soft half-lustred pure silk fabric which was worn constantly for two centuries. He sent his mother many yards of it for her wear.

We have ample proof that these black whisks were in general wear in England. In an account-book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall in 1673, are these items: "a black alamode whiske for Sister Rachel; a round whiske for Susanna; a little black

whiske for myself." This English Quaker sends also a colored stuff manteo to her sister; scores of English inventories of women's wardrobes contain precisely similar items to those bought by Son Hall. And it is a tribute to the devotion of American women to the rigid laws of fashion, even in that early day, to find that all whisks, save black whisks and lustring ones, disappear at this date from colonial inventories of effects.

She wrote to him for a "side of plum colored leather" for her shoes. This was a matter of much concern to him, not at all because this leather was a bit gay or extravagant, or frail wear for an elderly grandmother, but because it was not the very latest thing in leather. He writes anxiously:—

"Secondly you sent for Damson-Coloured Spanish Leather for Womans Shoes. But there is noe Spanish Leather of that Colour; and Turkey Leather is coloured on the grain side only, both of which are out of use for Women's Shoes. Therefore I bought a Skin of Leather that is all the mode for Women's Shoes. All that I fear is, that it is too thick. But my Coz. Eppes told me yt such thin ones as are here generally used, would by rain and snow in N. England presently be rendered of noe service and therefore persuaded me to send this, which is stronger than ordinary. And if the Shoemaker fit it well, may not be uneasy."

Perhaps his anxious offices and advices in regard to fans show more curiously than other quotations, the insistent attitude of the New England mind in regard to the latest fashions. I cannot to-day conceive why any woman, young or old, could have

been at all concerned in Ipswich in 1675 as to which sort of fan she carried, or what was carried in London, yet good Son John writes: —

"As to the feathered fan, I should also have found it in my heart to let it alone, because none but very grave persons (and of them very few) use it. That now 'tis grown almost as obsolete as Russets and more rare to be seen than a yellow Hood. But the Thing being Civil and not very dear, Remembering that in the years 64 and 68, if I mistake not, you had Two Fans sent, I have bought one now on purpose for you, and I hope you will be pleased."

Evidently the screen-fan of Pocahontas's day was no longer a novelty. His mother had had far more fans that he remembered. In 1664 two "Tortis shell fanns" had gone across seas; one had cost five shillings, the other ten shillings. The following year came a black feather fan with silver handle, and two tortoise-shell fans; in 1666 two more tortoise-shell fans; in 1688 another feather fan, and so on. These many fans may have been disposed of as gifts to others, but the entire trend of the son's letters, as well as his express directions, would show that all these articles were for his mother's personal use. When finery was sent for madam's daughter, it was so specified; in 1675, when the daughter became a bride, Brother John sent her her wedding gloves, ever a gift of sentiment. A pair of wedding gloves of that date lies now before me. They are mitts rather than gloves, being fingerless. They are of white kid, and are twenty-two inches long. They are very wide at the top, and have three drawing-

strings with gilt tassels; these are run in welts about two inches apart, and were evidently drawn into puffs above the elbow when worn. A full edging of white Swiss lace and a pretty design of dots made in gold thread on the back of the hand, form altogether a very costly, elegant, and decorative article of dress. I should fancy they cost several pounds. Men's gloves were equally rich. Here are the gold-fringed gloves of Governor Leverett worn in 1640.

Gold-fringed Gloves of Governor Leverett.

Of course the only head-gear of Madam Symonds for outdoor wear was a hood. Hats were falling in disfavor. I shall tell in a special chapter of the dominance at this date and the importance of the French hood. Its heavy black folds are shown in the portraits of Rebecca Rawson (facing page 66), of Madam Simeon Stoddard (facing page 76), and on other heads in this book. Such a hood probably covered Madam Symonds's head heavily and fully,

whene'er she walked abroad; certainly it did when she rode a pillion-back. She had other fashionable hoods — all the fashionable hoods, in fact, that were worn in England at that time; hoods of lustring, of tiffany, of "bird's-eye" — precisely the same as had Madam Pepys, and one of spotted gauze, the last a pretty vanity for summer wear. We may remember, in fact, that Madam Symonds was a contemporary — across-seas — of Madam Pepys, and wore the same garments; only she apparently had richer and more varied garments than did that beautiful young woman whose husband was in the immediate employ of the king.

Arthur Abbott was the agent in Boston through whom this London finery and flummery was delivered to Madam Symonds in safety; and it is an amusing side-light upon social life in the colony to know that in 1675 Abbott's wife was "presented before the court" for wearing a silk hood above her station, and her husband paid the fine. Knowing womankind, and knowing the skill and cunning in needlework of women of that day, I cannot resist building up a little imaginative story around this "presentment" and fine. I believe that the pretty young woman could not put aside the fascination of all the beautiful London hoods consigned to her husband for the old lady at Ipswich; I suspect she tried all the finery on, and that she copied one hood for herself so successfully and with such telling effect that its air of high fashion at once caught the eye and met with the reproof of the severe Boston magistrates. She was the last woman, I believe, to

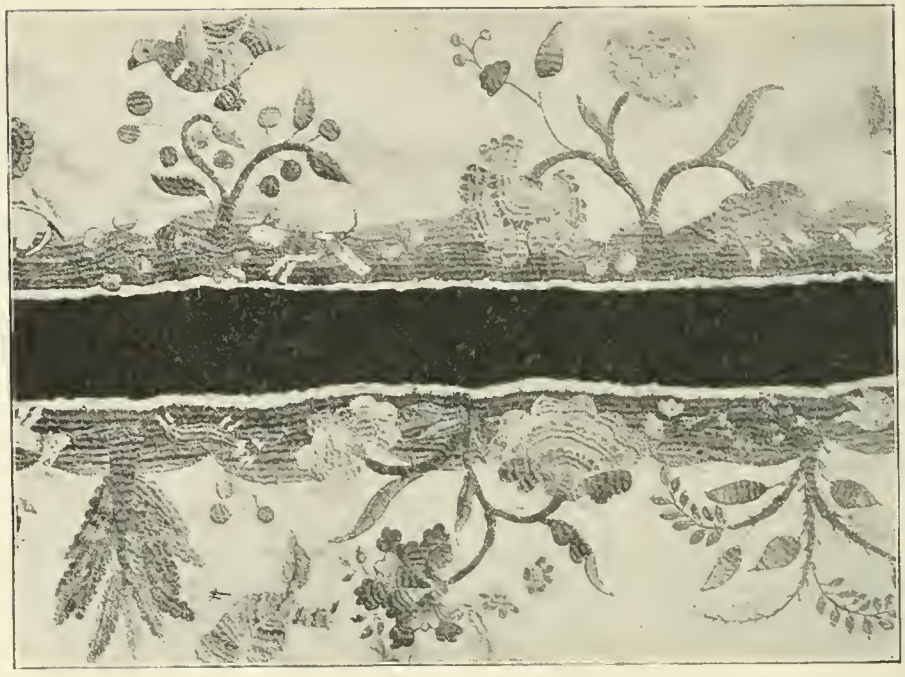
be fined under the colonial sumptuary laws of Massachusetts.

The colors of Madam Symonds's garments were seldom given, but I doubt that they were "sad-coloured" or "grave of colour" as we find Governor Winthrop's orders for his wife. One lustring hood was brown; and frequently green ribbons were sent; also many yards of scarlet and pink gauze, which seem the very essence of juvenility. Her son writes a list of gifts to her and the members of her family from his own people: —

"A light violet-colored Petti-Coat is my wife's token to you. The Petti-Coat was bought for my wife's mother and scarcely worn. This my wife humbly presents to you, requesting your acceptance of it, for your own wearing, as being Grave and suitable for a Person of Quality."

Even a half-worn petticoat was a considerable gift; for petticoats were both costly and of infinite needlework. Even the wealthiest folk esteemed a gift of partly worn clothing, when materials were so rich. Letters of deep gratitude were sent in thanks.

The variety of stuffs used in them was great. Some of these are wholly obsolete; even the meaning of their names is lost. In an inventory of 1644, of a citizen of Plymouth there was, for instance, "a petticoate of phillip & cheny" worth £1. Much of the value of these petticoats was in the handwork bestowed upon them; they were both embroidered and elaborately quilted. About 1730, in the Van Cortlandt family, a woman was paid at one time £2 5*s*. for quilting, a large amount for that



Embroidered Petticoat Band.

day. Often we find items of fifteen or twenty shillings for quilting a petticoat.

The handsomest petticoats were of quilted silk or satin. No pattern was so elaborate, no amount of work so large, that it could dismay the heart or tire the fingers of an eighteenth-century needlewoman. One yellow satin petticoat has a lining of stout linen. These are quilted together in an exquisite irregular design of interlacing ribbons, slender vines, and long, narrow leaves, all stuffed with white cord. Though the general effect of this pattern is very regular, an examination shows it is not a set design, but must have been drawn as well as worked by the maker. Another petticoat has a

curious design made with two shades of blue silk cord sewed on in a pattern. Another of infinite work has a design outlined in tiny rolls of satin.

These petticoats had many flat trimmings; laces of silver, gold, or silk thread were used, galloons and orrice. Tufts of fringed silk were dotted in clusters and made into fly-fringe. Bridget Neal, writing in 1685 to her sister, says: —

"I am told las is yused on petit-coats. Three fringes is much yused, but they are not set on the petcot strait, but in waves; it does not look well, unless all the fringes yused that fashion is the plane twisted fring not very deep. I hear some has nine fringes sett in this fashion."

Anxiety to please his honored mother, and desire that she should be dressed in the top of the mode, show in every letter of John Hall: —

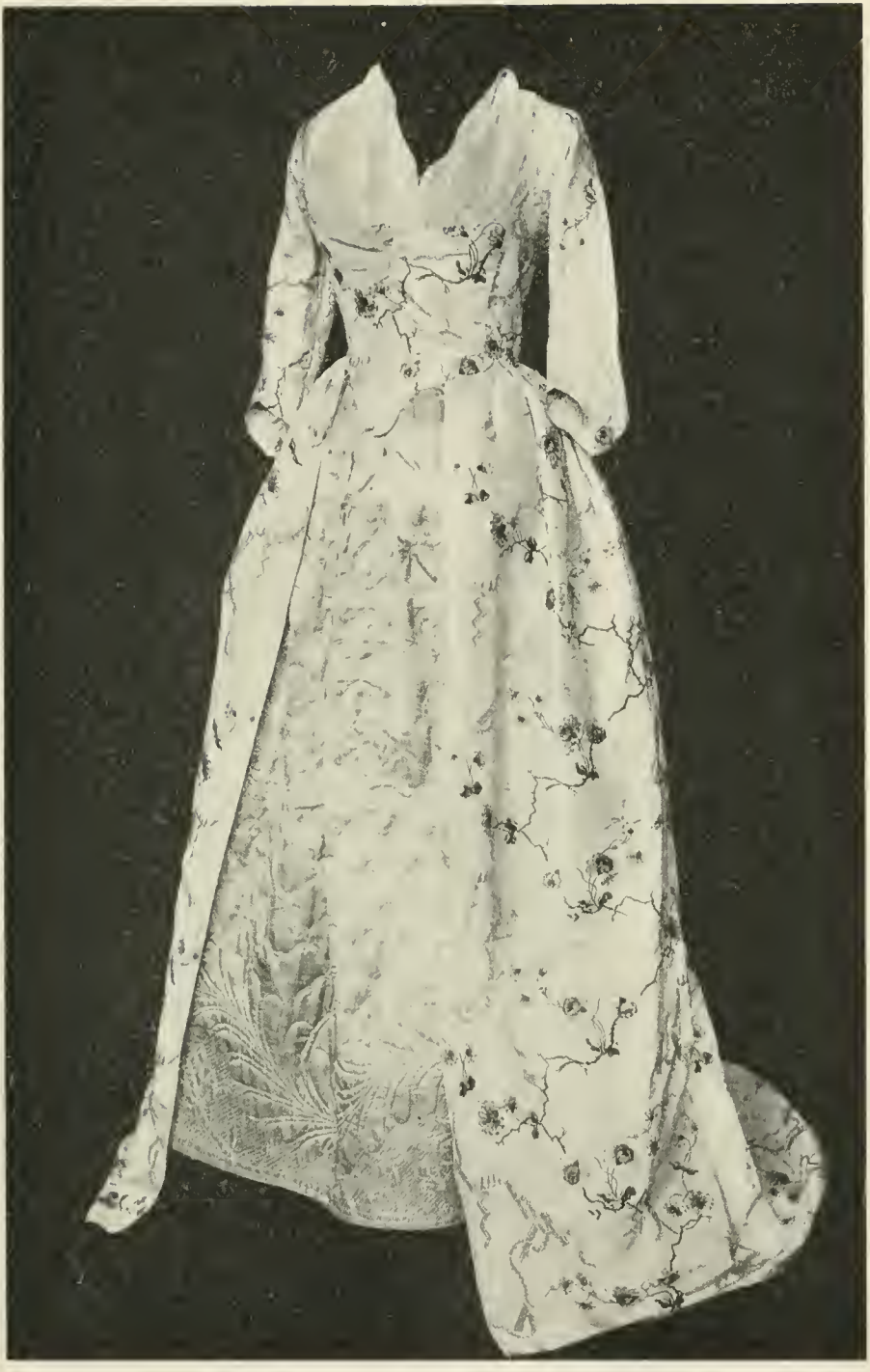
"I bought your muffs of my Coz. Jno. Rolfe who tells me they are worth more money than I gave for them. You desired yours Modish yet Long; but here with us they are now much shorter. These were made a Purpose for you. As to yr Silk Flowered Manto, I hope it may please you; Tis not the Mode to lyne you now at all; but if you like to have it soe, any silke will serve, and may be done at yr pleasure."

In 1663 Pepys notes (with his customary delight at a new fashion, mingled with fear that thereby he might be led into more expense) that ladies at the play put on "vizards which hid the whole face, and had become a great fashion; and *so* to the Exchange to buy a Vizard for my wife." Soon he added a

French mask, which led to some unpleasant encounters for Mrs. Pepys with dissolute courtiers on the street. The plays in London were then so bold and so bad that we cannot wonder at the masks of the play-goers. The masks concealed constant blushes; but wearers and hearers did not stay away, for neither eyes nor ears were covered by the mask. Busino tells of a woman at the theatre all in yellow and scarlet, with two masks and three pairs of gloves, worn one pair over the other. Suddenly out came disappointing Queen Anne with her royal command that the plays be refined and reformed, and then masks were abandoned.

Masks were in those years in constant wear in the French court and society, as a protection to the complexion when walking or riding. Sometimes plain glass was fitted in the eye-holes. French masks had wires which fastened behind the ears, or a mouthpiece of silver; or they had an ingenious and simple stay in the form of two strings at the corners of the mouth-opening of the mask. These strings ended in a silver button or glass bead. With a bead held firmly in either corner of her mouth, the mask-wearer could talk. These vizards are seen in old English wood-cuts, often hanging by the side, fastened to the belt with a small cord or chain. They brought forth the bitter denunciations of the old Puritan Stubbes. He writes in his *Anatomie of Abuses*: —

"When they vse to ride abroad, they haue visors made of ueluet (or in my iudgment they may rather be called inuisories) wherewith they couer all their faces, hauing



Blue Brocade Gown and Quilted Satin Petticoat.

holes made in them agaynst their eies, whereout they looke. So that if a man that knew not their guise before, shoulde chaunce to meete one of theme, he would thinke he mette a monster or a deuill; for face he can see none, but two broad holes against their eyes with glasses in them."

Masks were certainly worn to a considerable extent in America. As early as 1645, masks were forbidden in Plymouth, Massachusetts, "for improper purposes." When you think of the Plymouth of that year, its few houses and inhabitants, its desperate struggle to hold its place at all as a community, the narrow means of its citizens, the comparatively scant wardrobes of the wives and daughters, this restriction as to mask-wearing seems a grim jest. They were for sale in Salem and Boston, black velvet masks worth two shillings each; but these towns were more flourishing than Plymouth. And New York dames had them, and the planters' wives of Virginia and South Carolina.

I suppose Madam Symonds wore her mask when she mounted on a pillion behind some strong young lad, and rode out to Argilla Farm.

A few years later than the dates when Madam Symonds was ordering these fashionable articles of dress from England a rhyming catalogue of a lady's toilet was written by John Evelyn and entitled, *Mundus Muliebris or a Voyage to Mary-Land;* it might be a list of Madam Symonds's wardrobe. Some of the lines run: —

> "One gown of rich black silk, which odd is
> Without one coloured embroidered boddice.

Three manteaux, nor can Madam less
Provision have for due undress.
Of under-boddice three neat pair
Embroidered, and of shoes as fair ;
Short under petticoats, pure fine,
Some of Japan stuff, some of Chine,
With knee-high galoon bottomed ;
Another quilted white and red,
With a broad Flanders lace below.
Three night gowns of rich Indian stuff ;
Four cushion-cloths are scarce enough.
A manteau girdle, ruby buckle,
And brilliant diamond ring for knuckle.
Fans painted and perfumed three ;
Three muffs of ermine, sable, grey."

Other articles of personal and household comfort were gathered in London shops by her dutiful son and sent to Madam Symonds. The list is full of interest, and helps to fill out the picture of daily life. He despatched to her cloves, nutmegs, spices, eringo roots, "coronation" and stock-gilly-flower seed, "colly-flower seed," hearth brushes (these came every year), silver whistles and several pomanders and pomander-beads, bouquet-glasses (which could hardly have been the bosom bottles which were worn later), necklaces, amber beads, many and varied pins, needles, silk lacings, kid gloves, silver ink-boxes, sealing-wax, gilt trunks, fancy boxes, painted desks, tape, ferret, bobbin, bone lace, calico, gimp, many yards of ducape, lustring, persian, and other silk stuffs — all these items of transport show the son's devoted selection of the articles his mother wished. Gowns seem never to have been sent, but manteaus, mantles, and "ferrandine" cloaks appear

frequently. Of course there are some articles which cannot be positively described to-day, such as the "shape, with ruffles" and "double pleated drolls" and "lace drolls" which appear several times on the lists. These "drolls" were, I believe, the "drowlas" of Madame de Lange, in New Amsterdam. "Men's knives" occasionally were sent, and "women's knives" many times. These latter had hafts of ivory, agate, and "Ellotheropian." This Ellotheropian or Alleteropeain or Illyteropian stone has been ever a great puzzle to me until in another letter I chanced to find the spelling Hellotyropian; then I knew the real word was the Heliotropium of the ancients, our blood-stone. It was a favorite stone of the day not only for those fancy-handled knives, but for seals, finger-rings and other forms of ornament.

A few books were on the list, — a Greek Lexicon ordered as a gift for a student; a very costly Bible, bound in velvet, with silver clasps, the expense of which was carefully detailed down to the Indian silk for the inner-end leaves; "*Dod on Commandments* — my Ant Jane said you had a fancie for it, and I have bound it in green plush for you." Fancy any one having a fancy for Dod on anything! and fancy Dod in green plush covers!

# CHAPTER V

## THE EVOLUTION OF COATS AND WAISTCOATS

*This day the King began to put on his vest; and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers who are in it, being a long cassock close to the body, of long cloth, pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with white ribbon like a pigeon's leg; and upon the whole I wish the King may keep it, for it is a very fine and handsome garment.*

— "Diary," Samuel Pepys, October 8, 1666.

*Fashion then was counted a disease and horses died of it.*

— "The Gulls Hornbook," Andrew Dekker, 1609.

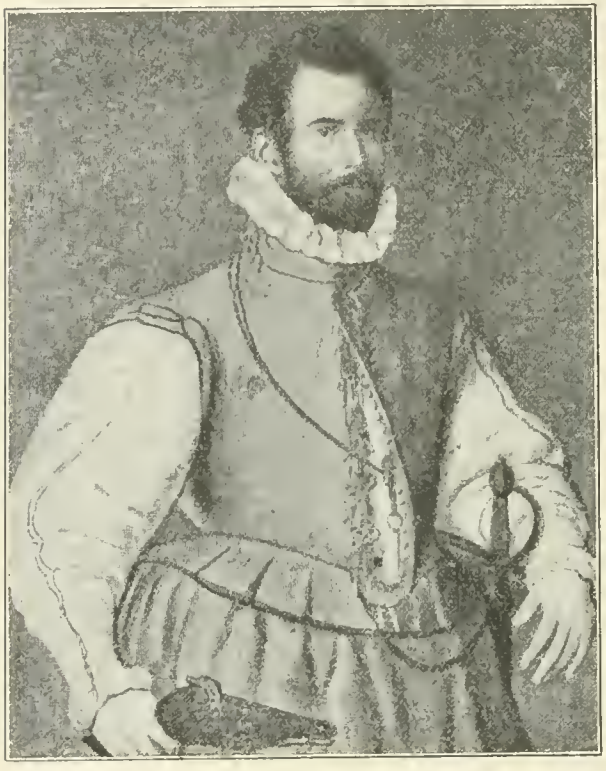
# CHAPTER V

## THE EVOLUTION OF COATS AND WAISTCOATS

BOTH word and garment — coat — are of curious interest, one as a philological study, the other as an evolution. A singular transfer of meaning from cot or cote, a house and shelter, to the word coat, used for a garment, is duplicated in some degree in chasuble, casule, and cassock; the words body, and bodice; and corse or corpse, and corselet and corset. The word coat, meaning a garment for men for covering the upper part of the body, has been in use for centuries; but of very changeable and confusing usage, for it also constantly meant petticoat. The garment itself was a puzzle, for many years; most bewildering of all the attire which was worn by the first colonists was the elusive, coatlike over-garment called in shipping-lists, tailors' orders, household inventories, and other legal and domestic records a doublet, a jerkin, a jacket, a cassock, a paltock, a coat, a horseman's coat, an upper-coat, and a buff-coat. All these garments resembled each other; all closed with a single row of buttons or points or hooks and eyes. There was not a double-breasted coat in the *Mayflower*, nor on any man in any of the colonies for many years;

they hadn't been invented. Let me attempt to define these several coatlike garments.

In 1697 a jerkin was described by Randle Holme as "a kind of jacket or upper doublet, with four skirts or laps." These laps were made by slits up from the hem to the belt-line, and varied in number, but four on each side was a usual number, or there might be a slit up the back, and one on each hip, which would afford four laps in all. Mr. Knight, in his notes on Shakespere's use of the word, conjectures that the jerkin was generally worn over the doublet; but one guess is as good as another, and I guess it was not. I agree, however, with his surmise that the two garments were constantly confounded; in truth it is not a surmise, it is a fact. Shakespere expressed the situation when he said in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, "My jerkin is a doublet;" and I fancy there was slight difference in



A Plain Jerkin.

the garments, save that in the beginning the doublet was always of two thicknesses, as its name indicates; and it was wadded.

As the jerkin was often minutely slashed, it could scarcely have been wadded; though it may have had a lining for special display through the slashes.

A jerkin had no skirts in our modern sense of the word, — a piece set on at the waist-line, — nor could it on that account be what we term a coat, nor was it a coat, nor was it what the colonists deemed a coat.

The old Dutch word is *jurkken*, and it was often thus spelt, which has led some to deem it a Dutch name and article of dress. But then it was also spelt *irkin*, *ircken*, *jorken*, *jorgen*, *erkyn*, and *ergoin* — which are not Dutch nor any other tongue. Indeed, under the name *ergoin* I wonder that we recognize it or that it knew itself. A jerkin was often of leather like a buff-coat, but not always so.

Sir Richard Saltonstall wears a buff-coat, with handsome sword-belt, or trooping-belt, and rich gloves. His portrait faces page 18. As we look at his fine countenance we think of Hawthorne's words: —

"What dignitary is this crossing to greet the Governor. A stately personage in velvet cloak — with ample beard and a gold band across his breast. He has the authoritative port of one who has filled the highest civic position in the first of cities. Of all men in the world, we should least expect to meet the Lord Mayor of London — as Sir Richard Saltonstall has been once and again — in a forest-bordered settlement in the western wilderness."

A fine buff-coat and a buff-coat sleeve are given in the chapter upon Armor.

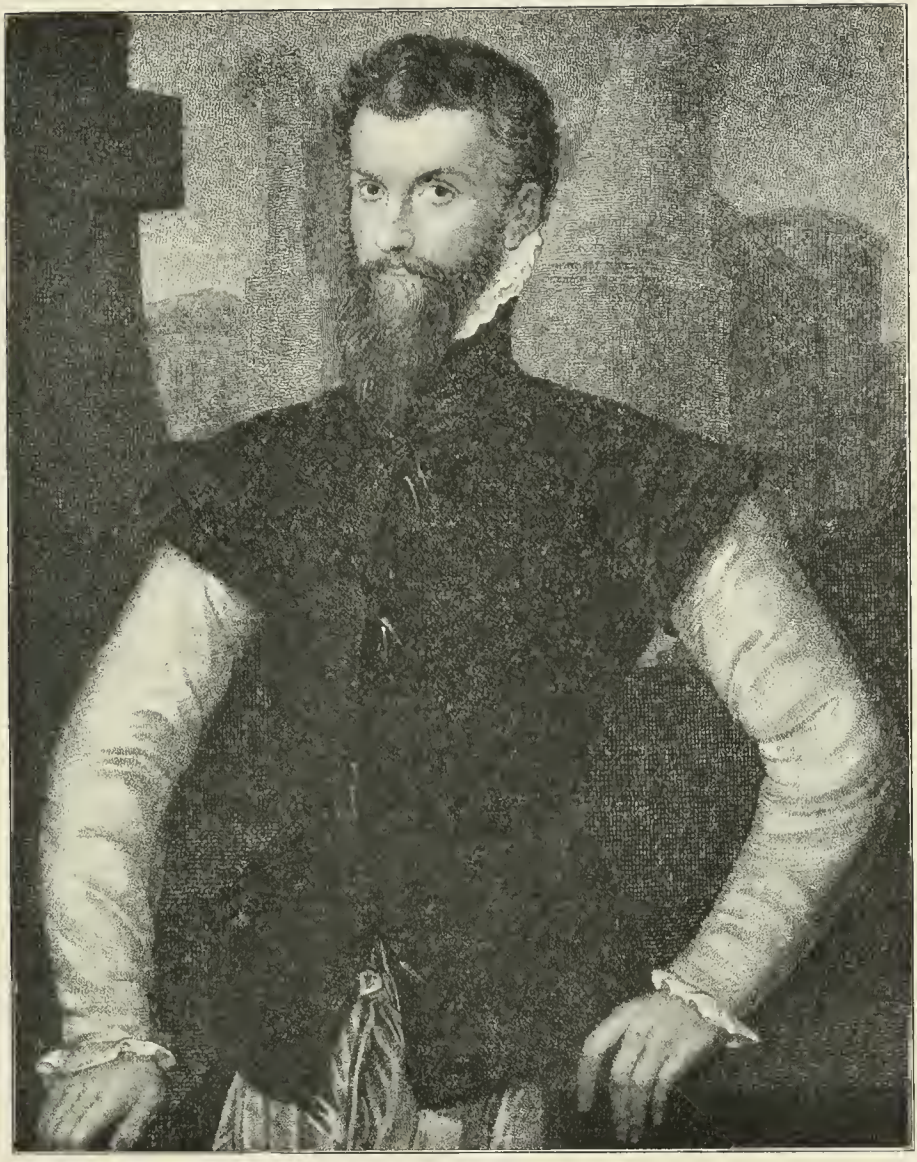
All the early colonial inventories of wearing-apparel contain doublets. Richard Sawyer died in 1648 in Windsor, Connecticut; he was a plain average "Goodman Citizen." A part of his apparel was thus inventoried: —

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 musck-colour'd cloth doublitt & breeches . . | 1 | | |
| 1 bucks leather doublitt . . . . . | | 12 | |
| 1 calves leather doublitt . . . . . | | 6 | |
| 1 liver-colour'd doublitt & jacket & breeches . | | 7 | |
| 1 haire-colour'd doublitt & jackett & breeches . | | 5 | |
| 1 paire canvas drawers . . . . . | | 1 | 6 |
| 1 olde coate. 1 paire old gray breeches . . | | 5 | |
| 1 stuffe jackett . . . . . | | 2 | 6 |

William Kempe of "Duxborrow," a settler of importance, died in 1641. His wardrobe was more varied, and ample and rich. He left two buff-coats and leather doublets with silver buttons; cloth doublets, three horsemen's coats, "frize jerkines," three cassocks, two cloaks.

Of course we turn to Stubbes to see what he can say for or against doublets. His outcry here is against their size; and those who know the "great pease-cod-bellied doublets" of Elizabeth's day will agree with him that they look as if a man were wholly gone to "gourmandice and gluttonie."

Stubbes has a very good list of coats and jerkins in which he gives incidentally an excellent description by which we may know a mandillion: —



A Doublet.

"Their coates and jerkins as they be diuers in colours so be they diuers in fashions; for some be made with collars, some without, some close to the body, some loose, which they call mandilians, couering the whole body down to the thigh, like bags or sacks, that were drawne ouer them, hiding the dimensions and lineaments of the body. Some are buttoned down the breast, some vnder the arme, and some down the backe, some with flaps over the brest, some without, some with great sleeves, some with small, some with none at all, some pleated and crested behind and curiously gathered and some not."

An old satirical print, dated 1644, gives drawings of men of all the new varieties of religious belief and practices which "pestered Christians" at the beginning of the century. With the exception of the Adamite, whose garb is that of Adam in the Garden of Eden, all ten wear doublets. These vary slightly, much less than in Stubbes's list of jerkins. One is open up the back with buttons and button-loops. Another has the "four laps on a side," showing it is a jerkin. Another is opened on the hips; one is slit at back and hips. All save one from neck to hem are buttoned in front with a single row of buttons, with no lapells, collar, or cuffs, and no "flaps," no ornaments or trimming. A linen shirt-cuff and a plain band finish sleeves and neck of all save the Arminian, who wears a small ruff. Not one of these doublets is a graceful or an elegant garment. All are shapeless and over-plain; and have none of the French smartness that came from the spreading coat-skirts of men's later wear.

The welts or wings named in the early sumptu-

ary laws were the pieces of cloth set at the shoulder over the arm-hole where body and sleeves meet. The welt was at first a sort of epaulet, but grew longer and often set out, thus deserving its title of wings.

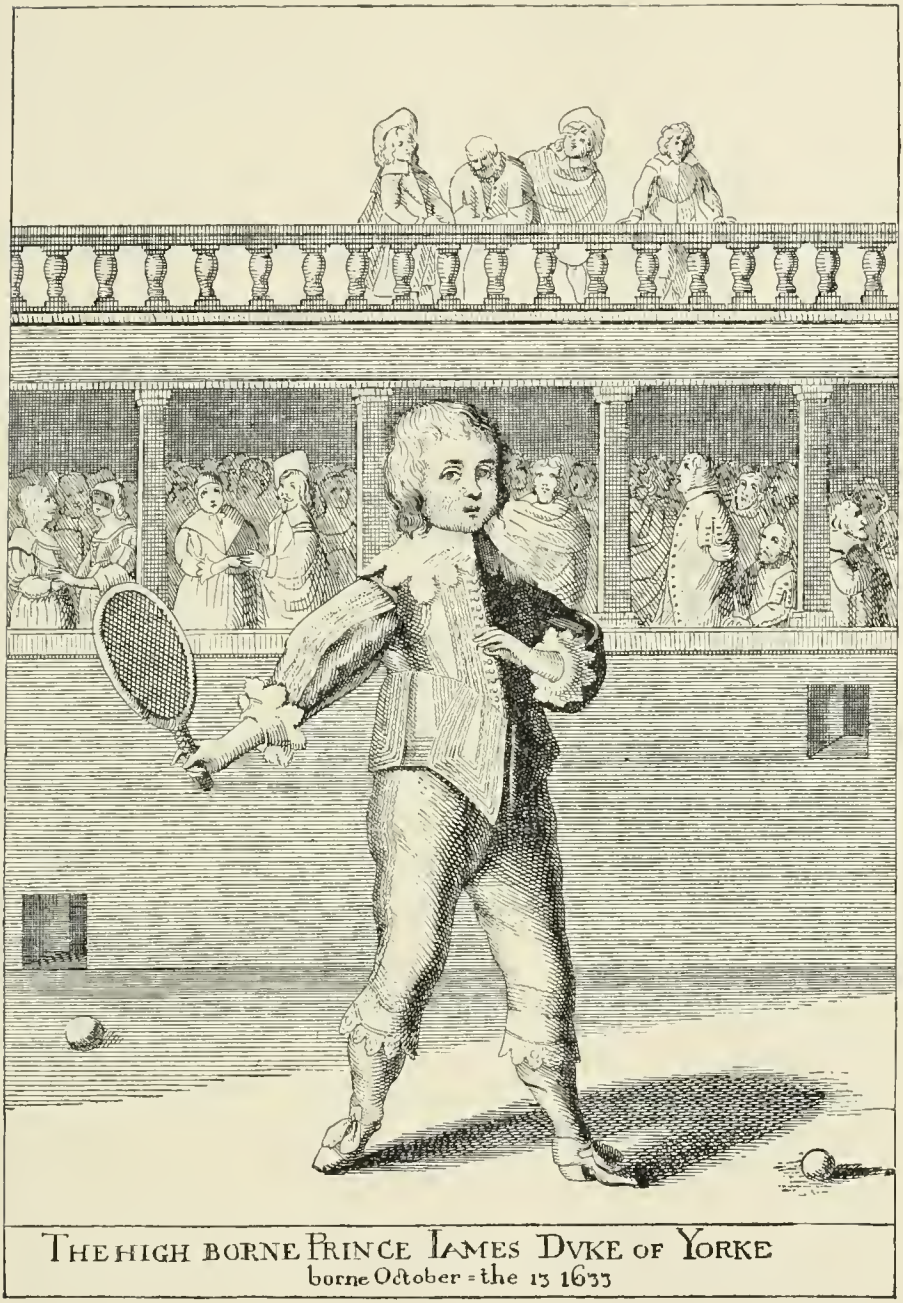
A dress of the times is thus described: —

"His doublet was of a strange cut, the collar of it was up so high and sharp as it would cut his throat. His wings according to the fashion now were as little and diminutive as a Puritan's ruff."

A note to this says that "wings were lateral projections, extending from each shoulder" — a good round sentence that by itself really means nothing. Ben Jonson calls them "puff-wings."

There is one positive rule in the shape of doublets; they were always welted at the arm-hole. Possibly the sleeves were sometimes sewn in, but even then there was always a cap, a welt or a hanging sleeve or some edging. In the illustrations of the *Roxburghe Ballads* there is not a doublet or jerkin on man, woman, or child but is thus welted. Some trimming around the arm-hole was a law. This lasted until the coat was wholly evolved. This had sleeves, and the shoulder-welt vanished.

These welts were often turreted or cut in squares. You will note this turreted shoulder in some form on nearly all the doublets given in the portraits displayed in this book — both on men and women. For doublets were also worn by women. Stubbes says, "Though this be a kind of attire proper only to a man, yet they blush not to wear it." The old



THE HIGH BORNE PRINCE IAMES DVKE OF YORKE
borne October = the 13 1633

print of the infamous Mrs. Turner given facing page 130 shows her in a doublet.

Another author complains: —

"If Men get up French standing collars Women will have the French standing collar too: if Dublets with little thick skirts, so short none are able to sit upon them, women's foreparts are thick skirted too."

Children also had doublets and this same shoulder-cap at the arm-hole; their little doublets were made precisely like those of their parents. Look at the childish portrait of Lady Arabella Stuart, the portrait with the doll. Her fat little figure is squeezed in a doublet which has turreted welts like those worn by Anne Boleyn and by Pocahontas (facing page 122). Often a button was set between each square of the welt, and the sleeve loops or points could be tied to these buttons and thus hold up the detached undersleeves. The portrait of Sir Richard Saltonstall vaguely shows these buttons. Nearly all these garments — jerkins, jackets, doublets, buff-coats, paltocks, were sleeveless, especially when worn as the uppermost or outer garment. Holinshed tells of "doublets full of jagges and cuts and sleeves of sundry colours." These welts were "embroidered, indented, waved, furred, chisel-punched, dagged," as well as turreted. On one sleeve the turreted welt varied, the middle square or turret was long, the others each two inches shorter. Thus the sleeve-welt had a "crow-step" shape. A charming doublet sleeve of Elizabeth's day displayed a short hanging sleeve that was scarce more than a

hanging welt. This was edged around with crystal balls or buttons. Other welts were scalloped, with an eyelet-hole in each scallop, like the edge of old ladies' flannel petticoats. Othersome welts were a round stuffed roll. This roll also had its day around the petticoat edge, as may be seen in the petticoat of the child Henry Gibbes. This roll still appears on Japanese kimonos.

We are constantly finding complaints of the unsuitably ambitious attire of laboring folk in such sentences as this: —

"The plowman, in times past content in russet, must now-a-daies have his doublett of the fashion with wide cuts; his fine garters of Granada, to meet his Sis on Sunday. The fair one in russet frock and mockaldo sleeves now sells a cow against Easter to buy her silken gear."

Velvet jerkins and damask doublets were for men of dignity and estate. Governor Winthrop had two tufted velvet jerkins.

Jerkins and doublets varied much in shape and detail: —

"These doublets were this day short-waisted, anon, long-bellied; by-and-by-after great-buttoned, straight-after plain-laced, or else your buttons as strange for smallness as were before for bigness."

In Charles II's time at the May-pole dances still appear the old, welted doublets. Jack may have worn Cicily's doublet, and Peg may have borrowed Will's for all the difference that can be seen. The man's doublet did not ever have long, hanging

An Embroidered Jerkin.

sleeves, however, in the seventeenth century, while women wore such sleeves.

Sometimes the sleeves were very large, as in the Bowdoin portrait (facing page 198). The great puffs were held out by whalebones and rolls of cotton, and "tiring-sleeves" of wires, a fashion which has obtained for women at least seven times in the history of English costume. Gosson describes the vast sleeves of English doublets thus: —

"This Cloth of Price all cut in ragges,
These monstrous bones that compass arms,
These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,
With them he (the Devil) weaveth woeful harms."

We have seen how bitterly the slashing of good cloth exercised good men. The "cutting in rags" was slashing.

A favorite pattern of slashing is in small, narrow slits as shown in the portrait on page 225 of James Douglas. These jerkins are of leather, and the slashes are of course ornamental, and are also for health and comfort, as those know who wear chamois jackets with perforated holes throughout them, or slashes if we choose to call them so. They permit a circulation of the skin and a natural condition. These jerkins are slashed in curious little cuts, "carved of very good intail," as was said of King Henry's jerkin, which means, in modern English, cut in very good designs. And I presume, being of buff leather, the slashes were simply cut, not overcast or embroidered as were some wool stuffs.

The guard was literally a guard to the seam, a strip of galloon, silk, lace, velvet, put on over the seam to protect and strengthen it.

The large openings or slashes were called panes. Fynes Mayson says, "Lord Mountjoy wore jerkins and round hose with laced panes of russet cloth." The Swiss dress was painted by Coryat as doublet and hose of panes intermingled of red and yellow, trimmed with long puffs of blue and yellow rising up between the panes. It was necessarily a costly dress.

Of course this is the same word with the same meaning as when used in the term a "pane of glass."

The word "pinches" refers to an elaborate pleating which was worn for years; it lingered in America till 1750, and we have revived it in what we term "accordion pleating." The seventeenth-century pinching was usually applied to lawn or some washable stuff; and there must have been a pinching, a goffering machine by which the pinching was done to the washed garment by means of a heated iron.

John Lilburne.

Pinched sleeves, pinched partlets, pinched shirts, pinched wimples, pinched ruffs, are often referred to, all washable garments. The good wife of Bath wore a wimple which was "y-pinched full seemly." Henry VIII wore a pinched habit-shirt of finest lawn, and his fine, healthy skin glowed pink through the folds of the lawn after his hearty exercise at tennis and all kinds of athletic sports, for which he had thrown off his doublet. We are taught to deem him "a spot of grease and blood on England's page." There was more muscle than fat in him; he could not be restrained from constant, vio-

lent, dangerous exercise; this was one of the causes of the admiration of his subjects.

The pinched partlet made a fine undergarment for the slashed doublet.

So full, so close, were these "pinchings," that one author complained that men wearing them could not draw their bowstrings well. It was said that the "pinched partlet and puffed sleeves" of a courtier would easily make a lad a doublet and cloak.

In my chapter on Children's Dress I tell of the pinched shirt worn by Governor Bradford when an infant, and give an illustration of it.

Aglets or tags were a pretty fashion revived for women's wear three years ago. Under Stuart reign, these aglets were of gold or silver, and set with precious stones such as pear-shaped pearls. For ordinary wear they were of metal, silk, or leather. They secured from untwisting or ravelling the points which were worn for over a century; these were ties or laces of ribbon, or woollen yarn or leather, decorated with tags or aglets at one end. Points were often home-woven, and were deemed a pretty gift to a friend. They were employed instead of buttons in securing clothes, and were used by the earliest settlers, chiefly, I think, as ornaments at the knee or for holding up the stockings in the place of garters. They were regarded as but foolish vanities, and were one of the articles of finery tabooed in early sumptuary laws. In 1651 the general court of Massachusetts expressed its "utter detestation and dislike that men of meane condition, education and calling should take upon them the garbe of

gentlemen by the wearinge of poynts at the knees." Fashion was more powerful than law; the richly trimmed, sashlike garters quickly displaced the modest points.

The Earl of Southampton, friend of Shakespere and of Virginia, as pictured on a later page, wears a doublet with agletted points around his belt, by which breeches and doublet are tied together. This is a striking portrait. The face is very noble. A similar belt was the favorite wear of Charles I.

Martin Frobisher, the hero of the Armada, wears a jerkin fastened down the front with buttons and aigletted points. (See page 164.) I suppose, when the fronts of the jerkin were thoroughly joined, each button had a point twisted or tied around it. Frobisher's lawn ruff is a modest and becoming one. This portrait in the original is full length. The remainder of the costume is very plain; it has no garters, no knee-points, no ribbons, no shoe-roses. The foot-covering is Turkish slippers precisely like the Oriental slippers which are imported to-day.

The Earl of Morton (page 225) wore a jerkin of buff leather curiously pinked and slashed. Fulke Greville's doublet (page 223) has a singular puff around the waist, like a farthingale. Facing page 166 is shown a doublet of the commonest form; this is worn by Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. The portrait is painted by Sir Antonio More — the portrait of one artist by another, and a very fine one, too.

Another garment, which is constantly named in lists of clothing, was the cassock. Steevens says a

cassock "signifies a horseman's loose coat, and is used in that sense by the writers of the age of Shakespere." It was apparently a garment much like a doublet or jerkin, and the names were used interchangeably. I think the cassock was longer than the doublet, and without "laps." The straight, long coats shown on the gentlemen in the picture facing page 188 were cassocks. The name finally became applied only to the coat or gown of the clergy. In the will of Robert Saltonstall, made in 1650, he names a "Plush Cassock," but cloth cassocks were the commonest wear.

There were other names for the doublet which are now difficult to place precisely. In the reign of Henry VIII a law was passed as to men's wear of velvet in their sleeveless cotes, jackets, and jupes. This word jupe and its ally jupon were more frequently heard in women's lists; but jump, a derivative, was man's wear. Randle Holme said: "A jump extendeth to the thighs; is open and buttoned before, and may have a slit half way behind." It might be with or without sleeves — all this being likewise true of the doublet. From this jump descended the modern jumper and the eighteenth century jumps — what Dr. Johnson defined in one of his delightsome struggles with the names of women's attire, "Jumps: a kind of loose or limber stays worn by sickly ladies."

Coats were not furnished to the Massachusetts or Plymouth planters, but those of Piscataquay in New Hampshire had "lined coats," which were simply doublets like all the rest.

Colonel William Legge.

In 1633 we find that Governor Winthrop had several dozen scarlet coats sent from England to "the Bay." The consigner wrote, "I could not

find any Bridgwater cloth but Red; so all the coats sent are red lined with blew, and lace suitable; which red is the choise color of all." These coats of double thickness were evidently doublets.

The word "coat" in the earliest lists must often refer to a waistcoat. I infer this from the small cost of the garments, the small amount of stuff it took to make them, and because they were worn with "Vper coats" — upper coats. Raccoon-skin and deerskin coats were many; these were likewise waistcoats, and the first lace coats were also waistcoats. Robert Keayne of Boston had costly lace coats in 1640, which he wore with doublets — these likewise were waistcoats.

As years go on, the use of the word becomes constant. There were "moose-coats" of mooseskin. Josselyn says mooseskin made excellent coats for martial men. Then come papous coats and pappous coats. These I inferred — since they were used in Indian trading — were for pappooses' wear, pappoose being the Indian word for child. But I had a painful shock in finding in the *Traders' Table of Values* that "3 Pappous Skins equal 1 Beaver" — so I must not believe that pappoose here means Indian baby. Match-coats were originally of skins dressed with the fur on, shaped in a coat like the hunting-shirt. The "Duffield Match-coat" was made of duffels, a woollen stuff, in the same shape. Duffels was called match-cloth. The word "coat" here is not really an English word; it is matchigode, the Chippewa Indian name for this garment.

We have in old-time letters and accounts occasional proof that the coat of the Puritan fathers was not at all like the shapely coat of our day. We have also many words to prove that the coat was a doublet which, as old Stubbes said, could be "pleated, or crested behind and curiously gathered."

Of him, whose shape this Picture hath design'd.
Vertue, and learning, represent the Mind W S

The tailor of the Winthrop family was one John Smith; he made garments for them all, father, mother, children, and children's wives, and husband's sisters, nieces, cousins, and aunts. He was a good Puritan, and seems to have been much esteemed by Winthrop. One letter accompanying a coat runs: "Good Mr. Winthrop, I have, by Mr. Downing's direction sent you a coat, a sad foulding colour without lace. For the fittness I am a little vncerteyne, but if it be too bigg or too little it is esie to amend, vnder the arme

to take in or let out the lyning; the outside may be let out in the gathering or taken in also without any prejudice." This instruction would appear to prove not only that the coat was a doublet, "curiously gathered," but that the "fittness" was more than "uncerteyne" of the coats of the Fathers. Since even such wildly broad directions could not "prejudice" the coat, we may assume that Governor Winthrop was more easily suited as to the cut of his apparel, than would have been Sir Walter Raleigh or Sir Philip Sidney.

Though Puritan influence on dress simplified much of the flippery and finery of the days of Elizabeth and James, and the refining elegance of Van Dyck gave additional simplicity as well as beauty to women's attire, which it retained for many years, still there lingered throughout the seventeenth century, ready to spring into fresh life at a breath of encouragement, many grotesqueries of fashion in men's dress which, in the picturesque sneer of the day, were deemed meet only for "a changeable-silk-gallant." At the restoration of the crown, courtiers seemed to love to flaunt frivolity in the faces of the Puritans.

One of these trumperies came through the excessive use of ribbons, a use which gave much charm to women's dress, but which ever gave to men's garments a finicky look. Beribboned doublets came in the butterfly period, between worm and chrysalis, between doublet and coat; beribboned breeches were eagerly adopted.

On page 179 is the copy of an old print, which

shows the dress of an estimable and sensible gentleman, Sir Thomas Orchard, with ribbon-edged garments and much galloon or laces. It is far too much trimmed to be rich or elegant. See also *The English Antick* on this page, from a rare broadside. His tall hat is beribboned and befeathered; his face is patched, ribbons knot his love-locks, his breeches are edged with agletted ribbons, and "on either side are two great bunches of ribbons of several colors." Similar knots are at wrists and belt. His boots are fringed with lace, and so wide that he "straddled as he went along singing."

The English Antick.

Ribboned sleeves like those of Colonel Legge, page 177, were a pretty fashion, but more suited to women's wear than to men's.

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, tells us what he thought of such attire. He wrote satirically: —

"If one have store of ribands hanging about his waist or his knees and in his hat; of divers colours red, white black or yellow, O! then he is a brave man. He hath ribands on his back, belly and knees, and his hair powdered, this is the array of the world. Are not these that have got ribands hanging about their arms, hands, back, waist, knees, hats, like fiddlers' boys? And further if one get a pair of breeches like a coat and hang them about with points, and tied up almost to the middle, a pair of double cuffs on his hands, and a feather in his cap, here is a gentleman!"

These beribboned garments were a French mode. The breeches were the "rhingraves" of the French court, which were breeches made wholly of loops of ribbons — like two ribboned petticoats. They caught the eye of seafaring men; we know that Jack ashore loves finery. We are told of sea-captains wearing beribboned breeches as they came into quiet little American ports, and of one English gallant landing from a ship in sober Boston, wearing breeches made wholly from waist to knee of overlapping loops of gay varicolored ribbon. It is recorded that "the boys did wonder and call out thereat," and they "were chided therefor." It is easy to picture the scene: the staring boys, born in Boston, of Puritan parents, of dignified dress, and more familiar with fringes on the garments of savage Indians than on the breeches of English gentlemen; we can see the soberly reproving minister or schoolmaster looking with equal disapproval on the foppish visitor and the mannerless boys; and the gayly dressed ship's captain, armed with self-satisfaction and masculine vanity, swaggering along

the narrow streets of the little town. It mattered not what he wore or what he did, a seafaring man was welcome. I wonder what the governor thought of those beribboned breeches! Perhaps he ordered a pair from London for himself, — of sad-colored ribbons, — offering the color as a compromise for the over-gayety of the ribbons. Randle Holme gave in 1658 three descriptions of the first petticoat-breeches, with drawings of each. One had the lining lower than the breeches, and tied in about the knees; ribbons extended halfway up the breeches, and ribbons hung out from the doublet all about the waistband. The second had a single row of pointed ribbons hanging all around the lower edge of the breeches; these were worn with stirrup-hose two yards wide at the top, tied by points and eyelet-holes to the breeches. The third had stirrup-hose tied to the breeches, and another pair of hose over them turned down at the calf of the leg, and the ribbons edged the stirrup-hose. His drawings of them are foolish things — not even pretty. He says ribbons were worn first at the knees, then at the waist at the doublet edge, then around the neck, then on the wrists and sleeves. These knee-ribbons formed what Dryden called in 1674 "a dangling knee-fringe." It is difficult for me to think of Dryden living at that period of history. He seems to me infinitely modern in comparison with it. Evelyn describes the wearer of such a suit as "a fine silken thing"; and tells that the ribbons were of "well-chosen colours of red, orange, and blew, of well-gummed satin, which augured a happy fancy."

In 1672 a suit of men's clothes was made for the beautiful Duchess of Portsmouth to wear to a masquerade; this was with "Rhingrave breeches and cannons." The suit was of dove-colored silk brocade trimmed with scarlet and silver lace and ribbons.

The ten yards of brocade for this beautiful suit cost £14. The Rhingrave breeches were trimmed with thirty-six yards of figured scarlet ribbon and thirty-six yards of plain satin ribbon and thirty-six of scarlet taffeta ribbon; this made one hundred and eight yards of ribbon — a great amount — an unusable amount. I fear the tailor was not honest. There were also as trimmings twenty-two yards of scarlet and silver vellum lace for guards; six dozen scarlet and silver vellum buttons, smaller breast buttons, narrow laces for the waistcoat, and silver twist for buttonholes. The suit was lined with lutestring. There was a black beaver hat with scarlet and silver edging, and lace embroidered scarlet stockings, a rich belt and lace garters, and point lace ruffles for the neck, sleeves, and knees. This suit had an interlining of scarlet camlet; and lutestring drawers seamed with scarlet and silver lace. The total bill of £59 would be represented to-day by $1400, — a goodly sum, — but it was a goodly suit. There is a portrait of the Duchess of Richmond in a similar suit, now at Buckingham Palace. Portraits of the Duke of Bedford, and of George I, painted by Kneller, are almost equally beribboned. The one of the king is given facing this page to show his ribbons and also the extraordinary shoes, which were fashionable at this date.

"Indians gowns," or banyans, were for a century

George I.

worn in England and America, and are of enough importance to receive a separate chapter in this book. The graceful folds allured all men and all portrait painters, just as the fashionable new china allured all women. The banyan was not the only Oriental garment which had become of interest to Englishmen. John Evelyn described in his *Tyrannus or the Mode* the "comeliness and usefulnesse" of all Persian clothing; and he noted with justifiable gratification that the new attire which had recently been adopted by King Charles II was "a comely dress after ye Persian mode." He says modestly, "I do not impute to this my discourse the change which soone happen'd; but it was an identity I could not but take notice of."

Rugge in his *Diurnal* describes the novel dress which was assumed by King Charles and the whole court, due notice of a subject of so much importance having been given to the council the previous month; and notice of the king's determination "never to change it," which he kept like many another of his promises and resolutions.

"It is a close coat of cloth pinkt with a white taffety under the cutts. This in length reached the calf of the leg; and upon that a sercoat cutt at the breast, which hung loose and shorter than the vest six inches. The breeches the Spanish cutt; and buskins some of cloth, some of leather but of the same colour as the vest or garment; of never the like garment since William the Conqueror."

Pepys we have seen further explained that it was all black and white, the black cassock being close to

Three Cassock Sleeves and a Buff-coat Sleeve.

the body. "The legs ruffled with black ribands like a pigeon's leg, and I wish the King may keep it for it is a fine and handsome garment." The news which came to the English court a month later that the king of France had put all his footmen and servants in this same dress as a livery made Pepys "mightie merry, it being an ingenious kind of affront, and yet makes me angry," which is as curious a frame of mind as even curious Pepys could record. Planché doubts this act of the king of France; but in *The Character of a Trimmer* the story is told *in extenso* — that the "vests were put on at first by the King to make Englishmen look unlike Frenchmen; but at the first laughing at it all ran back to the dress of French gentlemen." The king had already taken out the white linings as "'tis like a magpie;" and was glad to quit it I do not doubt. Dr. Holmes — and the rest of us — have looked askance at the word "vest" as allied in usage to that unutterable contraction, pants. But

here we find that vest is a more classic name than waistcoat for this dull garment — a garment with too little form or significance to be elegant or interesting or attractive.

Though this dress was adopted by the whole court, and though it was an age of portrait paint-

Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington.

ing, — and surely no more delicate flattery to the king's taste could be given than to have one's portrait painted in the king's chosen vestments, — yet but one portrait remains which is stated to display this dress. This is the portrait of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington — it is shown on this page. This

was painted by the king's own painter, Sir Peter Lely. I must say that I cannot find much resemblance to Pepys's or Rugge's description, unless the word "pinked" means cut out in an all-over pattern like Italian cut-work; then this inner vest might be of "cloth pinkt with a white taffeta under the coat." The surcoat is of black lined with white. Of course the sash is present, but not in any way distinctive. It was a characteristic act in the Earl to be painted in this dress, for he was a courtier of courtiers, perhaps the most rigid follower of court rules in England. He was "by nature of a pleasant and agreeable humour," but after a diplomatic journey on the continent he assumed an absurd formality of manner which was much ridiculed by his contemporaries. His letters show him to be exceeding nice in his phraseology; and he prided himself upon being the best-bred man in court. He was a trimmer, "the chief trickster of the court," a member of the Cabal, the first *a* in the word; and he was heartily hated as well as ridiculed. When a young man he received a cut on the nose in a skirmish in Ireland; he never let his prowess be forgotten, but ever after wore a black patch over the scar — it may be seen in his portrait. When his fellow courtiers wished to gibe at him, they stuck black patches on their noses and with long white staves strutted around the court in imitation of his pompous manner. He is a handsome fellow, but too fat — which was not a curse of his day as of the present.

Of course the king changed his dress many times after this solemn assumption of a lifelong garment.

Figures from Funeral Procession of the Duke of Albemarle, 1670.

It was a restless, uncertain, trying time in men's dress. They had lost the doublet, and had not found the skirted coat, and stood like the Englishman of Andrew Borde — ready to take a covering from any nation of the earth. I wonder the coat ever survived — that it did is proof of an inherent worth. Knowing the nature of mankind and the modes, the surprise really is that the descendants of Charles and all English folk are not now wearing shawls or peplums or anything save a coat and waistcoat.

Some of the sturdy rich members of the governors' cabinets and the assemblies and some of our American officers who had been in his Majesty's army, or had served a term in the provincial militia, and had had a hot skirmish or two with marauding Indians on the Connecticut River frontier, and some very worthy American gentlemen who were not widely renowned either in military or diplomatic circles and had never worn armor save in the artist's studio, — these were all painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller and by Sir Peter Lely, and by lesser lights in art, dressed in a steel corselet of the artist, and wearing their own good Flanders necktie and their own full well-buckled wig. There were some brave soldiers, too, who were thus painted, but there were far more in armor than had ever smelt smoke of powder. It was a good comfortable fashion for the busy artist. It must have been much easier when you had painted a certain corselet a hundred times to paint it again than to have to paint all kinds of new colors and stuffs. And the portrait in armor was almost always kit-

cat, and that disposed of the legs, ever a nuisance in portrait-painting.

While the virago-sleeves were growing more and more ornamental, and engageants were being more and more worn by women, men's sleeves assumed a most interesting form. The long coat, or cassock, had sleeves which were cut off at the elbow with great cuffs and were worn over enormous ruffled undersleeves; and they were even cut midway between shoulder and elbow, were slashed and pointed and beribboned to a wonderful degree. This lasted but a few years, the years when the cassock was shaping itself definitely into a skirted coat. Perhaps the height of ornamentation in sleeves was in the closing years of the reign of Charles II, though fancy sleeves lingered till the time of George I.

In an account of the funeral of George Monck, the Duke of Albemarle, in the year 1670, the dress is very carefully drawn of those who walked in the procession. (Some of them are given facing page 188.) It may be noted, first, that all the hats are lower crowned and straight crowned, not like a cone or a truncated cone, as crowns had been. The *Poor Men* are in robes with beards and flowing natural hair; they wear square bands, and carry staves. The *Clergymen* wear trailing surplices; but these are over a sort of cassock and breeches, and they all have high-heeled shoes with great roses. They also have their own hair. The *Doctors of Physic* are dressed like the *Gentlemen and Earls*, save that they wear a rich robe with bands at the upper arm, over the other fine dress. The gentlemen wear a cassock, or coat,

Earl of Southampton.

which reaches to the knee; the pockets are nearly as low as the knee. These cassocks have lapels from neck to hem, with a long row of gold buttons which are wholly for ornament, the cassock never being fastened with the buttons. The sleeves reach only to the elbow and turn back in a spreading cuff; and from the elbow hang heavy ruffles and under-sleeves, some of rich lace, others of embroidery. The gentlemen and earls wear great wigs.

This coat was called a surcoat or tunic. The under-coat, or waistcoat, was also called a vest, as by Charles the king.

From this vest, or surcoat, was developed a coat, with skirts, such as had become, ere the year 1700, the universal wear of English and American men. Its first form was adopted about at the close of the reign of Charles II. By 1688 Quaker teachers warned their younger sort against "cross-pockets on men's coats, side slopes, over-full skirted coats.

In an old play a man threatens a country lad, "I'll make your buttons fly." The lad replies, "All my buttons is loops." Some garments, especially leather ones, like doublets, which were cumbersome to button, were secured by loops. For instance, in spatterdashes, a row of holes was set on one side, and of loops on the other. To fasten them, one must begin at the lower loop, pass this through the first hole, then put the second loop through that first loop and the second hole, and so on till the last loop was fastened to the breeches by buckle and strap or large single button. From these loops were developed frogs and loops.

Major John Pyncheon had, in 1703, a "light coulour'd cape-coat with Frogs on it." In the *New England Weekly Journal* of 1736 "New Fashion'd Frogs" are named; and later, "Spangled Scalloped & Brocaded Frogs."

Though these jerkins and mandillions and doublets which were furnished to the Bay colonists were fastened with hooks and eyes, buttons were worn also, as old portraits and old letters prove. John Eliot ordered for traffic with the Indians, in 1651, three gross of pewter buttons; and Robert Keayne, of Boston, writing in 1653, said bitterly that a "haynous offence" of his had been selling buttons at too large profit — that they were gold buttons and he had sold them for two shillings ninepence a dozen in Boston, when they had cost but two shillings a dozen in London (which does not seem, in the light of our modern profits on imported goods, a very "haynous" offence). He also added with acerbity that "they were never payd for by those that complayned."

Buttonholes were a matter of ornament more than of use; in fact, they were never used for closing the garment after coats came to be worn. They were carefully cut and "laid around" in gay colors, embroidered with silver and gold thread, bound with vellum, with kid, with velvet. We find in old-time letters directions about modish buttonholes, and drawings even, in order that the shape may be exactly as wished. An English contemporary of John Winthrop's has tasselled buttonholes on his doublet.

Various are the reasons given for the placing of the two buttons on the back of a man's coat. One is that they are a survival of buttons which were used on the eighteenth-century riding-coat. The coat-tails were thus buttoned up when the wearer was on horseback. Another is that they were used for looping back the skirts of the coats; it is said that loops of cord were placed at the corners of the said skirts.

A curious anecdote about these two buttons on the back of the coat is that a tribe of North American Indians, deep believers in the value of symbolism, refused to heed a missionary because he could not explain to them the significance of these two buttons.

# CHAPTER VI

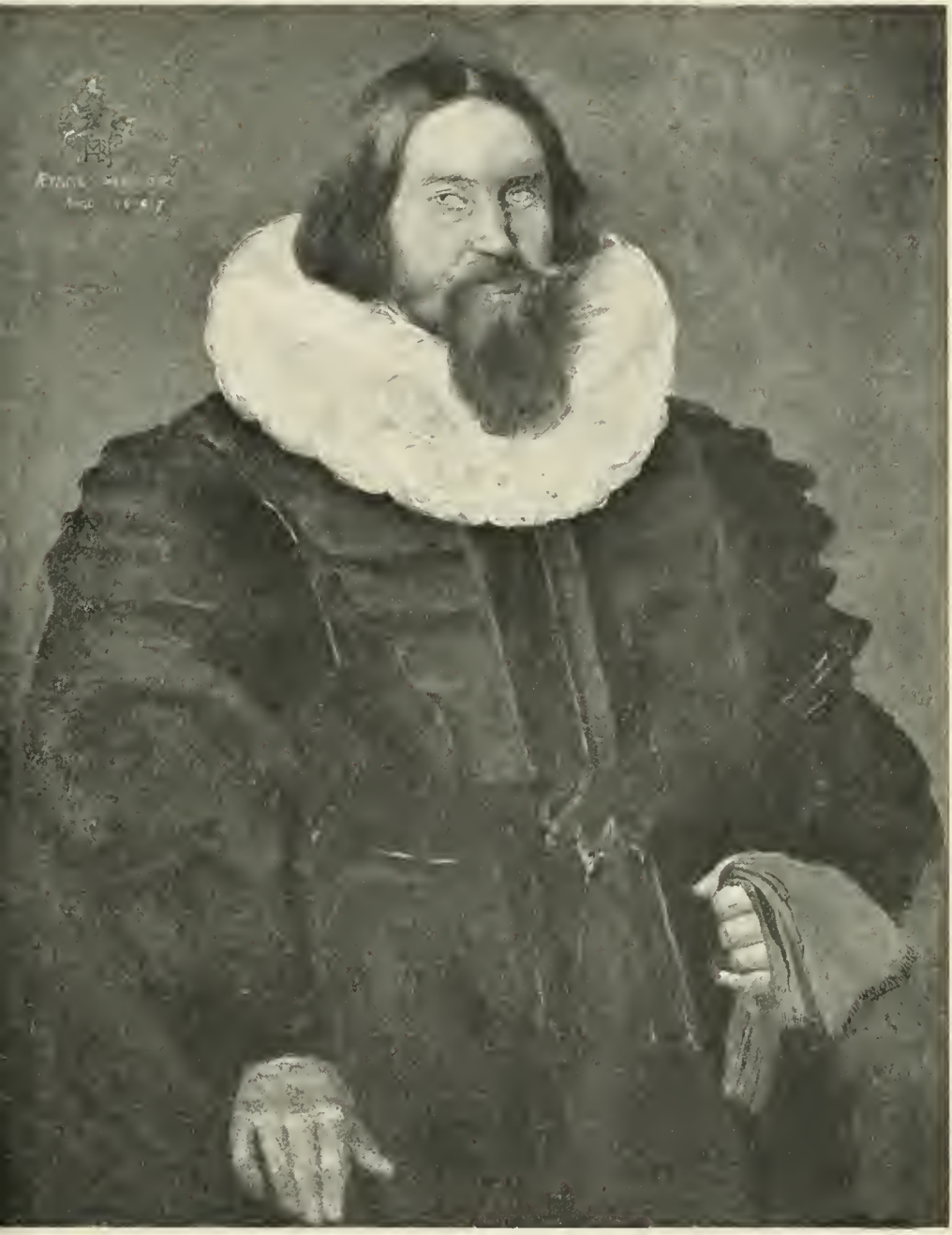
## RUFFS AND BANDS

"*Fashion has brought in deep ruffs and shallow ruffs, thick ruffs and thin ruffs, double ruffs and no ruffs. When the Judge of the quick and the dead shall appear he will not know those who have so defaced the fashion he hath created.*"

— Sermon, JOHN KING, Bishop of London, 1590.

"*Now up aloft I mount unto the Ruffe*
*Which into foolish Mortals pride doth puffe;*
*Yet Ruffe's antiquitie is here but small —*
*Within these eighty Years not one at all*
*For the 8th Henry, as I understand*
*Was the first King that ever wore a Band*
*And but a Falling Band, plaine with a Hem*
*All other people know no use of them.*"

— "The Prayse of Clean Linnen," JOHN TAYLOR, the "Water Poet," 1640.



A Bowdoin Portrait.

# CHAPTER VI

## RUFFS AND BANDS

E have in this poem of the old "Water Poet" a definite statement of the date of the introduction of ruffs for English wear. We are afforded in the portraiture given in this book ample proof of the fall of the ruff.

Like many of the most striking fashions of olden times, the ruff was Spanish. French gentlemen had worn frills or ruffs about 1540; soon after, these appeared in England; by the date of Elizabeth's accession the ruff had become the most imposing article of English men's and women's dress. It was worn exclusively by fine folk; for it was too frail and too costly for the common wear of the common people, though lawn ruffs were seen on many of low degree. A ruff such as was worn by a courtier contained eighteen or nineteen yards of fine linen lawn. A quarter of a yard wide was the fashionable width in England. Ruffs were carefully pleated in triple box-plaits as shown in the Bowdoin portrait facing page 198. Then they were bound with a firm neck-binding.

This carefully made ruff was starched with good English or Dutch starch; fluted with "setting

sticks" of wood or bone, to hold each pleat up; then fixed with struts — also of wood — placed in a manner to hold the pleats firmly apart; and finally "seared" or goffered with "poking sticks" of iron or steel, which, duly heated, dried the stiffening starch. To "do up" a formal ruff was a wearisome, difficult, and costly process. Women of skill acquired considerable fortunes as "gofferers."

Stubbes tells us further of the rich decoration of ruffs with gold, silver, and silk lace, with needlework, with openwork, and with purled lace. This was in Elizabeth's day. John Winthrop's ruff (on page 10) is edged with lace; in general a plain ruff was worn by plain gentlemen; one may be seen on Martin Frobisher (page 164). Rich lace was for the court. Their great cost, their inconvenience, their artificiality, their size, were sure to make ruffs a "reason of offence" to reformers. Stubbes gave voice to their complaints in these words: —

"They haue great and monstrous ruffes, made either of cambrike, holland, lawne, or els of some other the finest cloth that can be got for money, whereof some be a quarter of a yarde deepe, yea, some more, very few lesse, so that they stande a full quarter of a yearde (and more) from their necks hanging ouer their shoulder points in steade of a vaile."

Still more violent does he grow over starch: —

"The one arch or piller whereby his (the Devil's) kyngdome of great ruffes is vnderpropped, is a certaine kind of liquid matter, whiche they call starch, wherein the deuill hath willed them to washe and dive their ruffes well, whiche,

beeying drie, will then stande stiff and inflexible about their necks.

"The other piller is a certaine device made of wiers, crested for the purpose; whipped ouer either with gold thred, siluer, or silke, and this he calleth a supportasse or vnderpropper; this is to bee applied round about their neckes vnder the ruffe, vpon the out side of the bande, to beare vp the whole frame and bodie of the ruffe, from fallying and hangying doune."

Starch was of various colors. We read of "blue-starch-women," and of what must have been especially ugly, "goose-green starch." Yellow starch was most worn. It was introduced from France by the notorious Mrs. Turner. (See facing page 130.)

Wither wrote thus of the varying modes of dressing the neck: —

> "Some are graced by their Tyres
> As their Quoyfs, their Hats, their Wyres,
> One a Ruff cloth best become;
> Falling bands allureth some;
> And their favours oft we see
> Changéd as their dressings be."

The transformation of ruff to band can be seen in the painting of King Charles I. The first Van Dyck portrait of him shows him in a moderate ruff turned over to lie down like a collar; the lace edge formed itself by the pleats into points which developed into the lace points characteristic of Van Dyck's later pictures and called by his name.

Evelyn, describing a medal of King Charles I struck in 1633, says, "The King wears a falling band, a new mode which has succeeded the cumber-

some ruff; but neither do the bishops nor the Judges give it up so soon." Few of the early colonial portraits show ruffs, though the name appears in many inventories, but "playne bands" are more frequently

William Pyncheon.

named than ruffs. Thus in an Inventory of William Swift, Plymouth, 1642, he had "2 Ruff Bands and 4 Playne Bands." The "playne band" of the Puritans is shown in this portrait of William Pyncheon, which is dated 1657.

The first change from the full pleated ruff of the sixteenth century came in the adoption of a richly laced collar, unpleated, which still stood up behind the ears at the back of the head. Often it was wired in place with a supportasse. This was worn by both men and women. You may see one facing page 122, on the neck of Pocahontas, her portrait painted in 1616. This collar, called a standing-band, when turned down was known as a falling-band or a rebato.

The rich lace falling-band continued to be worn until the great flowing wig, with long, heavy curls, covered the entire shoulders and hid any band; the floating ends in front were the only part visible. In time they too vanished. Pepys wrote in 1662, "Put on my new lace band and so neat; am resolved my great expense shall be lace bands, and it will set off anything else the more."

I scarcely need to point out the falling-band in its various shapes as worn in America; they can be found readily in the early pages of this book. It was a fashion much discussed and at first much disliked; but the ruff had seen its last day — for men's wear, when the old fellows who had worn it in the early years of the seventeenth century dropped off as the century waned. The old Bowdoin gentleman must have been one of the last to wear this cumbersome though stately adjunct of dress — save as it was displaced on some formal state occasion or as part of a uniform or livery.

There is a constant tendency in all times and among all English-speaking folk to shorten names

and titles for colloquial purposes; and soon the falling-band became the fall. In the *Wits' Recreation* are two epigrams which show the thought of the times: —

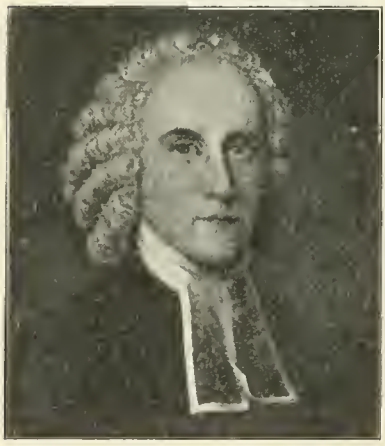
"Why Women weare a Fall

"A Question 'tis why Women wear a fall?
And truth it is to Pride they're given all.
And *Pride*, the proverb says, *will have a fall.*"

"On a little diminutive Band

"What is the reason of God-dam-me's band,
Inch deep? and that his fashion doth not alter,
God-dam-me saves a labor, understand
In pulling it off, where he puts on the Halter."

"God-dam-me" was one of the pleasant epithets which, by scores, were applied to the Puritans.



Reverend Jonathan Edwards.

The bands worn by the learned professions, two strips of lawn with squared ends, were at first the elongated ends of the shirt collar of Jonathan Edwards. We have them still, to remind us of old fashions; and we have another word and thing, band-box, which must have been a stern necessity in those days of starch, and ruff, and band.

It was by no means a convention of dress that "God-dam-me" should wear a small band. Neither

Cromwell nor his followers clung long to plain bands; nor did they all assume them. It would be wholly impossible to generalize or to determine the standing of individuals, either in politics or religion, by their neckwear. I have before me a little group of prints of men of Cromwell's day, gathered for extra illustration of a history of Cromwell's time. Let us glance at their bands.

First comes Cromwell himself from the Cooper portrait at Cambridge; this portrait has a plain linen turnover collar, or band, but two to three inches wide. Then his father is shown in a very broad, square, plain linen collar extending in front expanse from shoulder seam to shoulder seam. Sir Harry Vane and Hampden, both Puritans, have narrow collars like Cromwell's; Pym, an equally precise sectarian, has a broader one like the father's, but apparently of some solid and rich embroidery like cut-work. Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, in narrow band, Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, in band and band-strings, were members of the Long Parliament, but passed in time to the Royal Camp. Other portraits of both noblemen are in richly laced bands. The Earl of Bristol, who was in the same standing, has the widest of lace, Vandyked collars. John Selden wears the plain band; but here is Strafford, the very impersonation of all that was hated by Puritans, and yet he wears the simplest of puritanical bands. William Lenthal, Speaker of the House of Commons, is in a beautiful Cavalier collar with straight lace edges. There are a score more, equally indifferent to rule.

There is no doubt, however, that the Puritan regarded his plain band — if he wore it — with jealous care. Poor Mary Downing, niece of Governor Winthrop, paid dearly for her careless "searing," or ironing, of her brother's bands. Her stepmother's severity at her offence brought forth this plaintive letter: —

"Father, I trust that I have not provoked you to harbour soe ill an opinion of mee as my mothers lres do signifie and give me to understand; the ill opinion and hard pswasion which shee beares of mee, that is to say, that I should abuse yor goodness, and bee prodigall of yor purse, neglectful of my brothers bands, and of my slatterishnes and lasines; for my brothers bands I will not excuse myselfe, but I thinke not worthy soe sharpe a reproofe; for the rest I must needs excuse, and cleare myselfe if I may bee believed. I doe not know myselfe guilty of any of them; for myne owne part I doe not desire to be myne owne judge, but am willinge to bee judged by them with whom I live, and see my course, whether I bee addicted to such things or noe."

Ruffs and bands were not the only neckwear of the colonists. Very soon there was a tendency to ornament the band-strings with tassels of silk, with little tufts of ribbon, with tiny rosettes, with jewels even; and soon a graceful frill of lace hung where the band was tied together. This may be termed the beginning of the necktie or cravat; but the article itself enjoyed many names, and many forms, which in general extended both to men's and women's wear.

Captain George Curwen.

Let us turn to the old inventories for the various names of this neckwear.

A Maryland gentleman left by will, with other attire, in 1642, "Nine laced stripps, two plain stripps, nine quoifes, one call, eight crosse-cloths, a paire holland sleeves, a paire women's cuffs, nine plaine neck-cloths, five laced neck-cloths, two plaine gorgetts, seven laced gorgetts, three old clouts, five plaine neckhandkerchiefs, two plain shadowes."

John Taylor, the "Water Poet," wrote a poem entitled *The Needles Excellency*. I quote from the twelfth edition, dated 1640. In the list of garments which we owe to the needle he names: —

> "Shadows, Shapparoones, Cauls, Bands, Ruffs, Kuffs,
> Kerchiefs, Quoyfes, Chin-clouts, Marry-muffes,
> Cross-cloths, Aprons, Hand-kerchiefs, or Falls."

His list runs like that of the Maryland planter. The strip was something like the whisk; indeed, the names seem interchangeable. Bishop Hall in his *Satires* writes: —

> "When a plum'd fan may hide thy chalked face
> And lawny strips thy naked bosom grace."

Dr. Smith wrote in 1658 in *Penelope and Ulysses*: —

> "A stomacher upon her breast so bare
> For strips and gorget were not then the wear."

The gorget was the frill in front; the strip the lace cape or whisk. It will be noted that nine gorgets are named with these strips.

The gorget when worn by women was enriched with lace and needlework.

"These Holland smocks as white as snow
And gorgets brave with drawn-work wrought
A tempting ware they are you know."

Thus runs a poem published in 1596.

Mary Verney writes in 1642 her desire for "gorgetts and eyther cutt or painted callico to wear under them or what is most in fashion."

The shadow has been a great stumbling-block to antiquaries. Purchas's *Pilgrimage* is responsible for what is to me a very confusing reference. It says of a certain savage race: —

"They have a skin of leather hanging about their necks whenever they sit bare-headed and bare-footed, with their right arms bare; and a broad Sombrero or Shadow in their hands to defend them in Summer from the Sunne, in Winter from the Rain."

This would make a shadow a sort of hand-screen or sunshade; but all other references seem as if a shadow were a cap. As early as 1580, Richard Fenner's *Wardship Roll* has "Item a Caul and Shadoe 4 shillings." I think a shadow was a great cap like a cornet. Cross-cloths were a form of head-dress. I have seen old portraits with a cap or head-dress formed of crossed bands which I have supposed were cross-cloths.

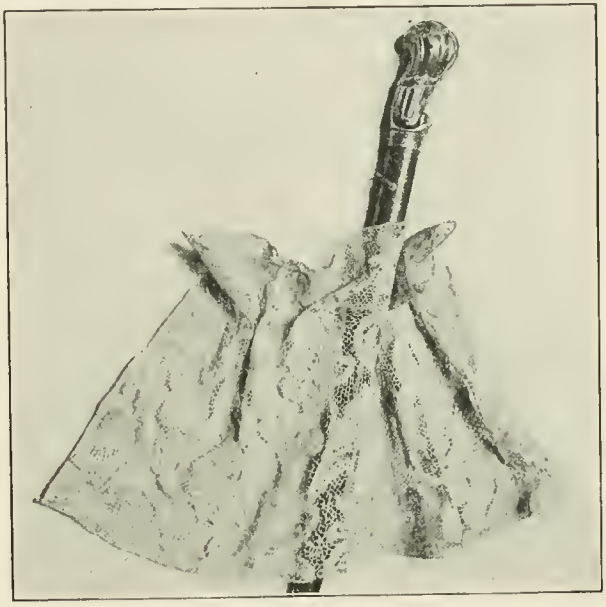
Cross-cloths also bore a double meaning; for certainly neck-cloths or neckerchiefs were sometimes called cross-cloths or cross-clothes. Another name is the picardill or piccadilly, a French title for a gorget. Fitzgerald, in 1617, wrote of "a

spruse coxcomb" that he glanced at his pocket looking-glass to see: —

> "How his Band jumpeth with his Peccadilly
> Whether his Band-strings ballance equally."

Another satirical author could write in 1638 that "pickadillies are now out of request."

The portrait of Captain Curwen of Salem (facing page 204) is unlike many of his times. Over his doublet he wears a handsome embroidered shoulder sash called a trooping-scarf; and his broad lace tie is very unusual for the year 1660. I know few like it upon American gentlemen in portraits; and I fancy it is a gorget, or a piccadilly. It is pleasant to know that this handsome piece of lace has been preserved. It is here shown with his cane.



Lace Gorget and Cane of Captain George Curwen.

A little negative proof may be given as to one word and article. The gorget is said to be an adaptation of the wimple. Our writers of historical

tales are very fond of attiring their heroines in wimples and kirtles. Both have a picturesque, an antique, sound — the wimple is Biblical and Shakesperian, and therefore ever satisfying to the ear, and to the sight in manuscript. But I have never seen the word wimple in an inventory, list, invoice, letter, or book of colonial times, and but once the word kirtle. Likewise are these modern authors a bit vague as to the manner of garment a wimple is. One fair maid is described as having her fair form wrapped in a warm wimple. She might as well be described as wrapped in a warm cravat. For a wimple was simply a small kerchief or covering for the neck, worn in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Another quaint term, already obsolete when the *Mayflower* sailed, was partlet. A partlet was an inner kerchief, worn with an open-necked bodice or doublet. Its trim plaited edge or ruffle seems to have given rise to the popular name, "Dame Partlet," for a hen. It appeared in the reign of Henry VIII; the courtiers imitating the king threw open their garments at the throat, and further opened them with slashes; hence the use of the partlet, which was a trim form of underhabit or gorget, worn well up to the throat. An old dictionary explains that the partlet can be "set on or taken off by itself without taking off the bodice, as can be pickadillies now-a-days, or men's bands." It adds that women's neckerchiefs have been called partlets.

In October, 1662, Samuel Pepys wrote in his *Diary*, "Made myself fine with Captain Ferrers lace

band; being loathe to wear my own new scallop; it is so fine." This is one of his several references to this new fashion of band which both he and his wife adopted. He paid £3 for his scallop, and 45*s.* for one for his wife. He was so satisfied with his elegance in this new scallop, that like many another lover of dress he determined his chief extravagance should be for lace. The fashion of scallop-wearing came to America. For several years the word was used in inventories, then it became as obsolete as a caul, a shadow, a cornet.

The word "cravat" is not very ancient. Its derivation is said to be from the Cravates or Croats in the French military service, who adopted such neck-wear in 1636. An early use of the word is by Blount in 1656, who called a cravat "a new fashioned Gorget which Women wear."

The cravat is a distinct companion of the wig, and was worn whenever and wherever wigs were donned.

Evelyn gave the year 1666 as the one when vest, cravat, garters, and buckles came to be the fashion. We could add likewise wigs. Of course all these had been known before that year, but had not been general wear.

An early example of a cravat is shown in the portrait of old William Stoughton in my later chapter on Cloaks. His cravat is a distinctly new mode of neck-dressing, but is found on all American portraits shortly after that date. One is shown with great exactness in the portrait on page 210, which is asserted to be that of "the handsomest

man in the Plantations," William Coddington, Governor of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

He was a precise man, and wearisome in his precision — a bore, even, I fear. His beauty went for little in his relation of man to man, and, above all, of colonist to colonist; and poor Governor Winthrop must have been sorely tormented with his frequent letters, which might have been written from Mars for all the signs they bore of news of things of this earth. His dress is very neat and rich — a characteristic dress, I think. It has slightly wrought buttonholes, plain sleeve ruffles and gloves. His full curled peruke has a mass of long curls hanging in front of the right shoulder, while the curls on the left side are six or eight inches shorter. This was the most elegant London fashion, and extreme fashion too. His neck-scarf or cravat was

Governor Coddington.

a characteristic one. It consisted of a long scarf of soft, fine, sheer, white linen over two yards long, passed twice or thrice close around the throat and simply lapped under the chin, not knotted. The upper end hung from twelve to sixteen inches long. The other and longer end was carried down to a low waistline and tucked in between the buttons of the waistcoat. Often the free end of this scarf was trimmed with lace or cut-work; indeed, the whole scarf might be of embroidery or lace, but the simpler lawn or mull appears to have been in better taste. This tie is seen in this portrait of Thomas Fayerweather, by Smybert, and in modified forms on many other pages.

Thomas Fayerweather.

We now find constant references to the Steinkirk, a new cravat. As we see it frequently stated that the Steinkirk was a black tie, I may state here that all the Steinkirks I have seen have been white. I know no portraits with black neck-cloths. I find no allusions in old-time literature or letters to black Steinkirks.

A Steinkirk was a white cravat, not knotted, but fastened so loosely as to seem folded rather than

tied, twisted sometimes twice or thrice, with one or both ends passed through a buttonhole of the coat. Ladies wore them, as well as men, arranged with equal appearance of careless negligence; and the soft diagonal folds of linen and lace made a pretty finish at the throat, as pretty as any high neck-dressing could be. These cravats were called Steinkirks after the battle of Steinkirk, when some of the French princes, not having time to perform an elaborate toilet before going into action, hurriedly twisted their lace cravats about their necks and pulled them through a buttonhole, simply to fix them safely in place. The fashionable world eagerly followed their example. It is curious that the Steinkirk should have been popular in England, where the name might rather have been a bitter avoidance.

The battle of Steinkirk took place in 1694. An early English allusion to the neckwear thus named is in *The Relapse*, which was acted in 1697. In it the Semstress says, "I hope your Lordship is pleased with your Steenkirk." His Lordship answers with eloquence, "In love with it, stap my vitals! Bring your bill, you shall be paid to-morrow!"

The Steinkirk, both for men's and women's wear, came to America very promptly, and was soon widely worn. The dashing, handsome figure of young King Carter gives an illustration of the pretty studied negligence of the Steinkirk. I have seen a Steinkirk tie on at least twenty portraits of American gentlemen, magistrates, and officers; some of them

"King" Carter in Youth, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

THE ACTORS' EQUITY



were the royal governors, but many were American born and bred, who never visited Europe, but turned eagerly to English fashions.

Certain old families have preserved among their ancient treasures a very long oval brooch with a bar across it from end to end — the longest way of the brooch. These are set sometimes with topaz or moonstone, garnet, marcasite, heliotropium, or paste jewels. Many wonder for what purpose these were used. They were to hold the lace Steinkirk in place, when it was not pulled through the button-hole. The bar made it seem like a tongueless buckle — or perhaps it was like a long, narrow buckle to which a brooch pin had been affixed to keep it firmly in place.

The cravat, tied and twisted in Steinkirk form, or more simply folded, long held its place in fashionable dress.

> "The stock with buckle made of paste
> Has put the cravat out of date,"

wrote Whyte in 1742.

With this quotation we will turn from neckwear until a later period.

# CHAPTER VII

## CAPS AND BEAVERS IN COLONIAL DAYS

"*So many poynted cappes*
*Lased with double flaps*
*And soe gay felted cappes*
*Saw I never.*

*So propre cappes*
*So lyttle hattes*
*And so false hartes*
*Saw I never.*"

— "The Maner of the World Nowe-a-dayes," JOHN SKELTON, 1548.

"*The Turk in linen wraps his head*
*The Persian his in lawn, too,*
*The Russ with sables furs his cap*
*And change will not be drawn to.*

"*The Spaniard's constant to his block*
*The Frenchman inconstant ever;*
*But of all felts that may be felt*
*Give me the English beaver.*

"*The German loves his coney-wool*
*The Irishman his shag, too,*
*The Welsh his Monmouth loves to wear*
*And of the same will brag, too.*"

— "A Challenge for Beauty," THOMAS HAYWARD.

# CHAPTER VII

## CAPS AND BEAVERS IN COLONIAL DAYS

ANY student of English history and letters would know that caps would positively be part of the outfit of every emigrating Englishman. A cap was, for centuries, both the enforced and desired headwear of English folk of quiet lives.

Belgic Britons, Welshmen, Irish, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans all had worn caps, as well as ancient Greeks and Romans. These English caps had been of divers colors and manifold forms, some being grotesque indeed. When we reach the reign of Henry VIII we are made familiar in the paintings of Holbein with a certain flat-cap which sometimes had a small jewel or feather or a double fold, but never varied greatly. This was known as the city flat-cap.

City Flat-cap worn by "Bilious" Bale.

It is shown also in the Holbein portrait of Adam Winthrop, grandfather of Governor John Winthrop; he was a man of dignity, Master of the Cloth Workers' Guild.

The muffin-cap of the boys of Christ's Hospital is a form of this cap.

This was at first and ever a Londoner's cap. A poet wrote in 1630: —

> "Flat caps as proper are to city gowns
> As to armour, helmets, or to kings, their crowns."

Winthrop also wears the city gown.

This flat-cap was often of gay colors, scarlet being a favorite hue.

> "Behold the bonnet upon my head
> A staryng colour of scarlet red
> I promise you a fyne thred
> And a soft wool
> It cost a noble."

These lines were written for the character "Pride," in the *Interlude of Nature*, before the year 1500.

A statute was passed in 1571, "If any person above six years of age (except maidens, ladies, gentlemen, nobles, knights, gentlemen of twenty marks by year in lands, and their heirs, and such as have born office of worship) have not worn upon the Sunday or holyday (except it be in the time of his travell out of the city, town or hamlet where he dwelleth) one cap of wool, knit, thicked and dressed in England, and only dressed and furnished by some of the trade of cappers, shall be fined £3 4*d.* for each

day's transgression." The caps thus worn were called Statute caps.

This was, of course, to encourage wool-workers in the pride of the nation. Winthrop, master of a guild whose existence depended on wool, would, of course, wear a woollen cap had he not been a Londoner. It was a plain head-covering, but it was also the one worn by King Edward VI.

There was a formal coif or cap worn by men of dignity; always worn, I think, by judges and elderly lawyers, ere the assumption of the formal wig. This coif may be seen on the head of the venerable Dr. Dee, and also on the head of Lord Burleigh, and of Thomas Cecil, surmounted with the citizen's flat-cap. One of these caps in heavy black lustring lingered by chance in my home — worn by some forgotten ancestor. It had a curious loop, as may be seen on Dr. Dee. This was not a narrow string for tying the coif on the head; it was a loop. And if there was any need of fastening the cap on the head, a narrow ribbon or ferret, a lacing, was put through both loops.

In the inventory of the apparel of the first settlers which I have given in the early pages of this book, we find that each colonist to the Massachusetts Bay settlement had one Monmouth cap and five red milled caps. All the lists of necessary clothing for the planters have as an item, caps; but a well-made, well-lined hat was also supplied.

Monmouth caps were in general wear in England. Thomas Fuller said, "Caps were the most ancient, general, warm, and profitable coverings of men's

heads in this Island." In making them thousands of people were employed, especially before the invention of fulling-mills, when caps were wrought, beaten, and thickened by the hands and feet of men. Cap-making afforded occupation to fifteen different callings: carders, spinners, knitters, parters of wool, forcers, thickers, dressers, walkers, dyers, battellers, shearers, pressers, edgers, liners, and band-makers.

King James I of England.

The Monmouth caps were worth two shillings each, which were furnished to the Massachusetts colonists. These were much affected by seafaring men. We read, in *A Satyr on Sea Officers*, "With Monmouth cap and cutlass at my side, striding at least a yard at every stride." "The Ballad of the Caps," 1656, gives a wonderful list of caps. Among them are: —

The Monmouth Cap, the Saylors thrum,
And that wherein the tradesmen come,
The Physick, Lawe, the Cap divine,
And that which crowns the Muses nine,

The Cap that Fools do countenance,
The goodly Cap of Maintenance,
And any Cap what e're it be,
Is still the sign of some degree.

"The sickly Cap both plaine and wrought,
The Fuddling-cap however bought,
The quilted, furred, the velvet, satin,
For which so many pates learn Latin,
The Crewel Cap, the Fustian pate,
The Perriwig, the Cap of Late,
And any Cap what e'er it be
Is still the sign of some degree."

— "Ballad of the Caps," 1656.

We seldom have in manuscript or print, in America, titles or names given to caps or hats, but one occasionally seen is the term "montero-cap," spelled also mountero, montiro, montearo; and Washington Irving tells of "the cedar bird with a little monteiro-cap of feathers." Montero-caps were frequently recommended to emigrants, and useful dress they were, being a horseman's or huntsman's cap with a simple round crown, and a flap which went around the sides and back of the cap and which could be worn turned up or brought down over the back of the neck, the ears and temples, thus making a most protecting head-covering. They were, in general, dark colored, of substantial woollen stuff, but Sterne writes in *Tristram Shandy* of a montero-cap which he describes as of superfine Spanish cloth, dyed scarlet in the grain, mounted all round with fur, except four inches in front, which was faced with light blue lightly embroidered. It is a montero-cap which

is seen on the head of Bamfylde Moore Carew, the "King of the Mumpers," a most genial English rogue, sneak-thief, and cheat of the eighteenth century, who spent some of his ill-filled years in the American colonies, whither he was brought after being trepanned, and where he had to bear the ignominy of wearing an iron collar welded around his neck.

A montero-cap seems to have been the favorite dress of rogues. In Head's *English Rogue* we read, "Beware of him that rides in a montero-cap and of him that whispers oft." The picaro Guzman wore one; and as montero is the Spanish word for huntsman, Head may have obtained the word from that special scamp, Guzman, whose life was published in 1633. It is a very ancient name, being given in Cotgrave as a hood, or as the horseman's helmet. It is worn still by Arctic travellers and Alpine climbers. Sets of knitted montero-caps were presented by the Empress Eugenie to the Arctic expedition of 1875, and the Jackies dubbed them "Eugenie Wigs."

Another and widely different class of men wore likewise the montero-cap, the English and American Quakers. Thomas Ellwood, in the early days of his Quaker belief, suffered much for his hat, both from his fellow Quakers and his father, a Church of England man. The Quakers thought his "large Mountier cap of black velvet, the skirt of which being turned up in Folds looked sòmewhat above the common Garb of a Quaker." A young priest at another time snatched this montero-cap off be-

cause he wore it in the presence of magistrates, and then Ellwood's father fell upon it in this wise: —

"He could not contain himself but running upon me with both hands, first violently snatcht off my Hat and threw it away and then giving me some buffets in the head said Sirrah get you up to your chamber. I had now lost one hat and had but one more. The next Time my Father saw it on my head he tore it violently from me and laid it up with the other, I know not where. Wherefore I put my Mountier Cap which was all I had left to wear on my head, and but a little while I had that, for when my Father came where I was, I lost that also."

Fulke Greville (Lord Brooke).

Finally the father refused to let him wear his "Hive," as he called the hat, at the table while eating, and thereafter Ellwood ate with his father's servants.

The vogue of beaver hats was an important factor in the settlement of America.

The first Spanish, Dutch, English, and French colonists all came to America to seek for gold and furs. The Spaniards found gold, the Dutch and French found furs, but the English who found fish found the greatest wealth of all, for food is ever more than raiment.

Of the furs the most important and most valuable was beaver. The English sent some beaver back to Europe; the very first ship to return from Plymouth carried back two hogsheads. Winslow sent twenty hogsheads as early as 1634, and Bradford shows that the trade was deemed important. But the wild creatures speedily retreated. Johnson declares that as early as 1645 the beaver trade had left the frontier post of Springfield, on the Connecticut River.

From the earliest days both the French and English crown had treated the fishing and fur industries with unusual discretion, giving a monopoly to the fur trade and leaving the fisheries free, so the latter constantly increased, while in New England the fur trade passed over to the Dutch, distinctly to the advantage of the English, for the lazy trader at a post was neither a good savage nor a good citizen, while the hardy fishermen and bold sailors of New England brought wealth to every town. For some years the Dutch appeared to have the best of it, for they received ten to fifteen thousand beaver skins annually from New England; and they had trading-posts on Narragansett and Buzzards Bay. Still the trade drew the Dutch away from agriculture, and the real success of New Netherland did not come with furs, but with corn.

The fur trade was certainly an interesting factor in the growth of the Dutch settlement. Fort Orange, or Albany, called the *Fuyck*, was the natural topographical *fuyck* or trap-net to catch this trade, and in the very first season of its settlement fifteen hundred beaver and five hundred otter skins were despatched to Holland. In 1657 Johannes Dyckman asserted that 40,900 beaver and otter skins were sent that year from Fort Orange to Fort Amsterdam (New York City). As these skins were valued at from eight to ten guilders apiece (about $3.50 and with a purchasing value equal to $20 to-day), it can readily be seen what a source of wealth seemed opened. The authorities at Fort Orange, the patroons of Renssalaerwyck and Beverwyck, were not to be permitted to absorb all this wondrous gain in undisturbed peace. The incre-

James Douglas (Earl of Morton).

ment of the India Company was diverted and hindered in various ways. Unscrupulous and crafty citizens of Fort Orange (independent *handælers* or handlers) and their thrifty, penny-turning *vrouws* decoyed the Indian trappers and hunters into their peaceful, honest kitchens under pretence of kindly Christian welcome to the peltry-bearing braves; and they filled the guileless savages with Dutch schnapps, or Barbadoes "kill-devil," until the befuddled or half-crazed Indians parted with their precious stores of hard-trapped skins and threw off their well-perspired and greased beaver coats and exchanged them for such valuable Dutch wares as knives, scissors, beads, and jews'-harps, or even a few pints of quickly vanishing rum, instead of solid Dutch guilders or substantial Dutch blankets. And even before these strategic Dutch citizens could corral and fleece them, the incoming fur-bearers had to run as insinuating a gantlet of *boschloopers*, bush-runners, drummers, or "broakers," who sallied out on the narrow Indian paths to buy the coveted furs even before they were brought into Fort Orange. Much legislation ensued. Scout-buying was prohibited. Citizens were forbidden "to addresse to speak to the wilden of trading," or to entice them to "traffique," or to harbor them over night. Indian houses to lodge the trappers were built just outside the gate, where the dickering would be public. These were built by rates collected from all "Christian dealers" in furs.

But Indian paths were many, and the water-ways were unpatrolled, and kitchen doors could be slyly opened in the dusk; so the government, in spite of

laws and shelter-houses, did not get all the beaver skins. Too many were eager for the lucrative and irregular trade; agricultural pursuits were alarmingly neglected; other communities became rivals, and the beavers soon were exterminated from the valley of the Hudson, and by 1660 the Fort Orange trade was sadly diminished. The governor of Canada had an itching palm, and lured the Indians — and beaver skins — to Montreal. Thus "impaired by French wiles," scarce nine thousand peltries came in 1687 to Fort Orange. With a few fluttering rallies until Revolutionary times the fur trade of Albany became extinct; it passed from both Dutch and French, and was dominated by the Hudson Bay Fur Company.

So clear a description of the fur of the beaver and the use of the pelt was given by Adriaen van der Donck, who lived at Fort Orange from the year 1641 to 1646, and traded for years with the Indians, that it is well to give his exact words: —

"The beaver's skin is rough but thickly set with fine fur of an ash-gray color inclining to blue. The outward points also incline to a russet or brown color. From the fur of the beaver the best hats are made that are worn. They are called beavers or castoreums from the material of which they are made, and they are known by this name over all Europe. Outside of the coat of fur many shining hairs appear called wind-hairs, which are more properly winter-hairs, for they fall out in summer and appear again in winter. The outer coat is of a chestnut-brown color, the browner the color the better is the fur. Sometimes it will be a little reddish.

"When hats are made of the fur, the rough hairs are pulled out for they are useless. The skins are usually first sent to Russia, where they are highly valued for their outside shining hair, and on this their greatest recommendation depends with the Russians. The skins are used there for mantle-linings and are also cut into strips for borders, as we cut rabbit-skins. Therefore we call the same peltries. Whoever has there the most and costliest fur-trimmings is deemed a person of very high rank, as with us the finest stuffs and gold and silver embroideries are regarded as the appendages of the great. After the hairs have fallen out, or are worn, and the peltries become old and dirty and apparently useless, we get the article back, and convert the fur into hats, before which it cannot be well used for this purpose, for unless the beaver has been worn, and is greasy and dirty, it will not felt properly, hence these old peltries are the most valuable. The coats which the Indians make of beaver-skins and which they have worn for a long time around their bodies until the skins have become foul with perspiration and grease are afterwards used by the hatters and make the best hats."

One notion about beaver must be told. Its great popularity for many years arose, it is conjectured, from its original use as a cap for curative purposes. Such a beaver cap would "unfeignedly" recover to a man his hearing, and stimulate his memory to a wonder, especially if the "oil of castor" was rubbed in his hair.

The beaver hat was for centuries a choice and costly article of dress; it went through many bizarre forms. On the head of Henry IV of France and Navarre, as made known in his portrait, is a hat which effectually destroys all possibility of dignity.

Elihu Yale.

It is a bell-crowned stove-pipe, of the precise shape worn later by coachmen and by dandies about the years 1820 to 1830. It is worn very much over one royal ear, like the hat of a well-set-up, self-important coachman of the palmy days of English coaching, and gives an air of absurd modernity and cockney importance to the picture of a king of great dignity. The hat worn by James I, ere he was King of England, is shown on page 220. It is funnier than any seen for years in a comic opera. The hat worn by Francis Bacon is a plain felt, greatly in contrast with his rich laced triple ruff and cuffs and embroidered garments. That of Thomas Cecil on page 230 varies slightly.

Two very singular shapings of the plain hat may be seen, one on page 223 on the head of Fulke Greville, where the round-topped, high crown is most disproportionate to the narrow brim. The second, on page 225, shows an extreme sugar-loaf, almost a pointed crown.

A good hat was very expensive, and important enough to be left among bequests in a will. They were borrowed and hired for many years, and even down to the time of Queen Anne we find the rent of a *subscription hat* to be £2 6*s*. per annum! The hiring out of a hat does not seem strange when hiring out clothes was a regular business with tailors. The wife of a person of low estate hired a gown of Queen Elizabeth's to be married in. Tailor Thomas Gylles complained of the Yeoman of the queen's wardrobe for suffering this. He writes, "The copper cloth of gold gowns which were made last,

and another, were sent into the country for the marriage of Lord Montague." The bequest of half-worn garments was highly regarded. On the very day of Darnley's funeral, Mary Queen of Scots gave his clothes to Bothwell, who sent them to his tailor to be refitted. The tailor, bold with the riot and disorder of the time, returned them with the impudent message that "the duds of dead men were given to the hangman." The duds of men who were hanged were given to the hangman almost as long as hangings took place. A poor New England girl, hanged for the murder of her child, went to the scaffold in her meanest attire, and taunted the executioner that he would get but a poor suit of clothes from her. The last woman hanged in Massachusetts wore a white satin gown, which I expect the sheriff's daughter much revelled in the following winter at dancing-parties.

Thomas Cecil.

Old Philip Stubbes has given us a wonderful description of English head-gear: —

## "Hats of Sundrie Fations"

"Sometymes they vse them sharpe on the Croune, pearking vp like the Spire, or Shaft of a Steeple, standyng a quarter of a yarde aboue the Croune of their heades, some more, some lesse, as please the phantasies of their inconstant mindes. Othersome be flat and broad on the Crowne, like the battlemetes of a house. An other sorte haue rounde Crownes, sometymes with one kinde of Band, sometymes with another, now black, now white, now russet, now red, now grene, now yellowe, now this, now that, never content with one colour or fashion two daies to an ende. And thus in vanitie they spend the Lorde his treasure, consuming their golden yeres and siluer daies in wickednesse and sinne. And as the fashions bee rare and strange, so is the stuffe whereof their hattes be made divers also; for some are of Silke, some of Veluet, some of Taffatie, some of Sarcenet, some of Wooll, and, whiche is more curious, some of a certaine kinde of fine Haire; these they call Bever hattes, or xx. xxx. or xl. shillinges price, fetched from beyonde the seas, from whence a greate sorte of other vanities doe come besides. And so common a thing it is, that euery seruyngman, countrieman, and other, euen all indefferently, dooe weare of these hattes. For he is of no account or estimation amongst men if he haue not a Veluet or Taffatie hatte, and that must be Pincked, and Cunnyngly Carved of the beste fashion. And good profitable hattes be these, for the longer you weare them the fewer holes they haue. Besides this, of late there is a new fashion of wearyng their hattes sprong vp amongst them, which they father vpon a Frenchman, namely, to weare them with bandes, but how vnsemely (I will not saie how hassie) a fashion that is let the wise judge; notwithstanding, howeuer it be, if it please them, it shall not displease me.

"And another sort (as phantasticall as the rest) are

content with no kinde of hat without a greate Bunche of Feathers of diuers and sondrie Colours, peakyng on top of their heades, not vnlike (I dare not saie) Cockescombes, but as sternes of pride, and ensignes of vanity. And yet, notwithstanding these Flutterying Sailes, and Feathered Flagges of defiaunce of Vertue (for so they be) are so advanced that euery child hath them in his Hat or Cap; many get good liuing by dying and selling of them, and not a few proue the selues more than Fooles in wearyng of them."

Notwithstanding this list of Stubbes, it is very curious to note that in general the shape of the real beaver hat remained the same as long as it was worn uncocked.

The hat was worn much more constantly within-doors than in the present day. Pepys states that they were worn in church; even the preacher wore his hat. Hats were removed in the presence of royalty. An hereditary honor and privilege granted to one of my ancestors was that he might wear his hat before the king.

Cornelius Steinwyck.

It is somewhat difficult to find out the exact date when the wearing of hats by men within-doors ceased to be fashionable and became distinctly low bred. We can turn to contemporary art. In 1707 at a grand banquet given in France to the Spanish Embassy, a ceremonious state affair with the women in magnificent full-dress, the men seated at the table

and in the presence of royalty wore their cocked hats — so much for courtly France.

This wearing of the hat in church, at table, and elsewhere that seems now strange to us, was largely as an emblem of dignity and authority. Miss Moore in the *Caldwell Papers* writes of her grandfather: —

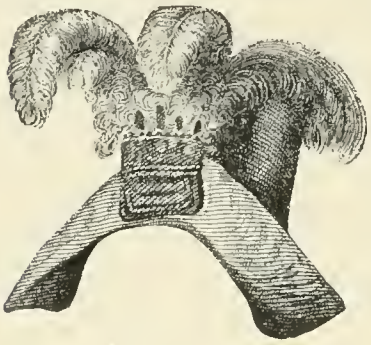
"I' my grandfather's time, as I have heard him tell, ilka maister of a family had his ain seat in his ain house; aye, and sat there with his hat on, afore the best in the land; and had his ain dish, and was aye helpit first and keepit up his authority as a man should so. Parents were parents then; and bairns dared not set up their gabs afore them as they do now."

That the covering of the head in church still has a significance on important occasions, is shown by a rubric from the "Form and Order" for the Coronation of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra; this provides that the king remains uncovered during the saying of the Litany and the beginning of the Communion Service, but when the sermon begun that he should put on his "Cap of crimson velvet turned up with Ermine, and so continue," to the end of the discourse.

Hatbands were just as important for men's hats as women's — especially during the years of the reign of James I. Endymion Porter had his wife's diamond necklace to wear on his hat in Spain. It probably looked like paste beside the gorgeousness of the Duke of Buckingham, who had "the Mirror of France," a great diamond, the finest in England, "to wear alone in your hat with a little blacke

feather," so the king wrote him. A more curious hat ornament was a glove.

This handsome hat is from a portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland. It has a woman's glove as a favor. This is said to have been a gift of Queen Elizabeth after his prowess in a tournament. He always wore this glove on state occasions. Gloves were worn on a hat in three meanings: as a memorial of a dead friend, as a favor of a mistress, or as a mark of challenge. A pretty laced or tasselled handkerchief was also a favor and was worn like a cockade.



Hat with a Glove as a Favor.

An excellent representation of the Cavalier hat may be seen on the figure of Oliver Cromwell (page 35), which shows him dismissing Parliament. Cornelius Steinwyck's flat-leafed hat has no feather.

The steeple-crowned hat of both men and women was in vogue in the second half of the seventeenth century in both England and America, at the time when the witchcraft tragedies came to a culmination. The long scarlet cloak was worn at the same date. It is evident that the conventional witch of to-day, an old woman in scarlet cloak and steeple-crowned hat, is a relic of that day. Through the striking circumstances and the striking dress was struck off a figurative type which is for all time.

William Kempe of "Duxburrow" in 1641 left hats, hat-boxes, rich hatbands, bone laces, leather hat-

cases; also ten "capps." Hats were also made of cloth. In the tailor's bill of work done for Jonathan Corwin of Salem, in 1679, we read: "To making a Broadcloth Hatt 14*s*. To making 2 hatts & 2 jackets for your two sonnes 19*s*." In 1672 an association of Massachusetts hatters asked privileges and protection from the colonial government to aid and encourage American manufacture, but they were refused until they made better hats. Shortly after, however, the exportation of raccoon fur to England was forbidden, or taxed, as it was found to be useful in the home manufacture of hats.

The eighteenth century saw many and varied forms of the cocked hat; the nineteenth returned to a straight crown and brim. The description of these will be given in the due course of the narrative of this book.

# CHAPTER VIII

## THE VENERABLE HOOD

"*Paul saith, that a woman ought to have a* Power *on her head. This* Power *that some of them have is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French Hoods — and I cannot tell you — I —* what *to call it. And when they make them ready and come to the Covering of their Head they will say, 'Give me my French Hood, and Give me my Bonnet or my Cap.' Now here is a* Vengeance-Devil; *we must have our* Power *from Turkey of Velvet, and gay it must be; far-fetched and dear-bought; and when it cometh it is a* False Sign."

— Sermon, Archbishop Latimer, 1549.

"*Hoods are the most ancient covering for the head and far more elegant and useful than the more modern fashion of hats, which present a useless elevation, and leave the neck and ears completely exposed.*"

— "Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume," Pugin, 1868.

# CHAPTER VIII

## THE VENERABLE HOOD

WE are told by the great Viollet le Duc that the faces of fifteenth-century women were of a uniform type. Certainly a uniform head-dress tends to establish a seeming resemblance of the wearers; the strange, steeple head-dress of that century might well have that effect; and the "French hood" worn so many years by English, French, and American women has somewhat the same effect on women's countenances; it gives a uniformity of severity. It is difficult for a face to be pretty and gay under this gloomy hood. This French hood is plainly a development of the head-rail, which was simply an unshaped oblong strip of linen or stuff thrown over the head, and with the ends twisted lightly round the neck or tied loosely under the chin with whatever grace or elegance the individual wearer possessed.

Varying slightly from reign to reign, yet never greatly changed, this sombre plain French hood was worn literally for centuries. It was deemed so grave and dignified a head-covering that, in the reign of Edward III, women of ill carriage were forbidden the wearing of it.

In the year 1472 "Raye Hoods," that is, striped hoods, were enjoined in several English towns as the distinctive wear of women of ill character. And in France this black hood was under restriction; only

Gulielma Penn.

ladies of the French court were permitted to wear velvet hoods, and only women of station and dignity, black hoods.

This black hood was dignified in allegorical literature as "the venerable hood," and was ever chosen

by limners to cover the head of any woman of age or dignity who was to be depicted.

In the *Ladies' Dictionary* a hood is defined thus: "A Dutch attire covering the head, face and all the body." And the long cloak with this draped hood, which must have been much like the Shaker cloak of to-day, seems to have been deemed a Dutch garment. It was warm and comfortable enough to be adopted readily by the English Pilgrims in Holland. It had come to England, however, in an earlier century. Of Ellinor Rummin, the alewife, Skelton wrote about the year 1500: —

> "A Hake of Lincoln greene
> It had been hers I weene
> More than fortye yeare
> And soe it doth appeare
> And the greene bare threds
> Looked like sere wedes
> Withered like hay
> The wool worn awaye
> And yet I dare saye
> She thinketh herself gaye
> Upon a holy day."

It is impossible to know how old this hood is. When I have fancied I had the earliest reference that could be found, I would soon come to another a few years earlier. We know positively from the *Lisle Papers* that it was worn in England by the name "French hood" in 1540. Anne Basset, daughter of Lady Lisle, had come into the household of the queen of Henry VIII, who at that time was Anne of Cleves. The "French Apparell" which

the maid of honor fetched from Calais was not pleasing to the queen, who promptly ordered the young girl to wear "a velvet bonnet with a frontlet and edge of pearls." These bonnets are familiar to us on the head of Anne's predecessor, Anne Boleyn. They were worn even by young children. One is shown on page 108. The young lady borrowed a bonnet; and a factor named Husee — the biggest gossip of his day — promptly chronicles to her mother, "I saw her (Anne Basset) yesterday in her velvet bonnet that my Lady Sussex had tired her in, and thought it became her nothing so well as the French hood,— but the Queen's pleasure must be done!"

Hannah Callowhill Penn.

Doubtless some of the Pilgrim Mothers wore bonnets like this one of Anne Basset's, especially if the wearer were a widow, when there was also an under frontlet which was either plain, plaited, or folded, but which came in a distinct point in the middle of the forehead.

This cap, or bandeau, with point on the forehead, is precisely the widow's cap worn by Catherine de Medicis. She was very severe in dress, but she introduced the wearing of neck-ruffs. She also wore hoods, the favorite head-covering of all Frenchwomen at that time. This form of head-

gear was sometimes called a widow's peak, on account of a similar peak of black silk or white being often worn by widows, apparently of all European nations. Magdalen Beeckman, an American woman of Dutch descent (facing page 104), wears one. The name is still applied to a pointed growth of hair on the forehead. It has also been known as a head-dress of Mary Queen of Scots, because some of her portraits display this pointed outline of head-gear. It continued until the time of Charles II. It is often found on church brasses, and was plainly a head-gear of dignity. A modified form is shown in the portrait of Lady Mary Armine.

Stubbes in his *Anatomie of Abuses* gives a notion of the importance of the French hood when he speaks of the straining of all classes for rich attire: that "every artificer's wife" will not go without her hat of velvet every day; "every merchant's wife and meane gentlewoman" must be in her "French hood"; and "every poor man's daughter" in her "taffatie hat or of wool at least." We have seen what a fierce controversy burned over Madam Johnson's "schowish" velvet hood.

An excellent account of this black hood as worn by the Puritans is given in rhyme in "Hudibras *Redivivus*," a long poem utterly worthless save for the truthful descriptions of dress; it runs:—

> "The black silk Hood, with formal pride
> First roll'd, beneath the chin was tied
> So close, so very trim and neat,
> So round, so formal, so complete,
> That not one jag of wicked lace

Or rag of linnen white had place
Betwixt the black bag and the face,
Which peep'd from out the sable hood
Like Luna from a sullen cloud."

It was doubtless selected by the women followers of Fox on account of its ancient record of sobriety and sanctity.

"Are the pinch'd cap and formal hood the emblems of sanctity? Does your virtue consist in your dress, Mrs. Prim?"

writes Mrs. Centlivre in *A Bold Stroke for a Wife.*

The black hood was worn long by Quaker women ere they adopted the beaver hat of the eighteenth century, and the poke-bonnet of the nineteenth century. On page 242 is given a portrait of Hannah Callowhill Penn, a Quaker, the second wife of William Penn. She was a sensible woman brought up in a home where British mercantile thrift vied with Quaker belief in adherence to sober attire, and her portrait plainly shows her character. Penn's young and pretty wife of his youth wears a fashionable pocket-hoop and rich brocade dress; but she wears likewise the simple black hood (page 240).

The dominance of this black French hood came not, however, through its wear by sober-faced, discreet English Puritans and Quakers, but through a French influence, a court influence, the earnestness of its adoption by Madame de Maintenon, wife of King Louis XIV of France. The whole dress of this strange ascetic would by preference have been that of a penitent; but the king had a dislike of

anything like mourning, so she wore dresses of some dark color other than black, generally a dull brown. The conventual aspect of her attire was added to by this large black hood, which was her constant wear, and is seen in her portraits. The life at court became melancholy, dejected, filled with icy reserve. And Madame, whether she rode "shut up in a close chair," says Duclos, "to avoid the least breath of air, while the King walked by her side, taking off his hat each time he stopped to speak to her"; or when she attended services in the chapel, sitting in a closed gallery; or even in her own sombre apartments, bending in silence over ecclesiastic needlework, — everywhere, her narrow, yellow, livid face was shadowed and buried in this black hood.

Madame de Miramion.

Her strange power over the king was in force in 1681, and, until his death in 1715, this sable hood, so unlike the French taste, covered the heads of French women of all ages and ranks. The genial, almost quizzical countenance of that noble and charitable woman, Madame de Miramion, wears a like hood.

This French hood is prominent everywhere in book

illustrations of the eighteenth century and even of earlier years. The loosely tied corners and the sides appear under the straw hats upon many of the figures in Tempest's *Cryes of London*, 1698, such as the Milk woman, the "Newes" woman, etc., which publication, I may say in passing, is a wonderful source for the student of everyday costume. I give the Strawberry Girl on this page to show the ordinary form of the French hood on plain folk. *Misson's Memories*, published also in 1698, gives the milkmaids on Mayday in like hoods. The early editions of Hudibras show these hoods, and in Hogarth's works they may be seen; not always of black, of course, in later years, but ever of the same shape.

The Strawberry Girl.

The hood worn by the Normans was called a chaperon. It was a sort of pointed bag with an oval opening for the face; sometimes the point was of great length, and was twisted, folded, knotted. In the Bodleian Library is a drawing of eleven figures

of young lads and girls playing *Hoodman-blind* or *Blindman's-buff*. The latter name came from the buffet or blow which the players gave with their twisted chaperon hoods. The blind man simply put his hood on "hind side afore," and was effectually blinded. These figures are of the fifteenth century.

Black Silk Hood.

The wild latitude of spelling often makes it difficult to define an article of dress. I have before me a letter of the year 1704, written in Boston, asking that a riding-hood be sent from England of any color save yellow; and one sentence of the instructions reads thus, "If 'tis velvet let it be a shabbaroon; if of cloth, a French hood." I abandoned "shabbaroon" as a wholly lost word; until Mrs. Gummere announced that the word was chaperon, from the Norman hood just described. This chaperon is specifically the hood worn by the Knights of the Garter when in full dress; in general it applies to any ample hood which completely covers head and face save for eye-holes. Another hood was the sortie.

The term "coif," spelt in various ways, quoif, quoiffe, coiffer, ciffer, quoiffer, has been held to apply to the French hood; but it certainly did not in America, for I find often in inventories side by side items of black silk hoods and another of quoifs, which I believe were the white undercaps worn with the French hood; just as a coif was the close undercap for men's wear.

Quilted Hood.

Through the two centuries following the assumption of the French hood came a troop of hoods, though sometimes under other names. In 1664 Pepys tells of his wife's yellow bird's-eye hood, "very fine, to church, as the fashion now is." Planché says hoods were not displaced by caps and bonnets till George II's time.

In the list of the "wedding apparell" of Madam Phillips, of Boston, are velvet hoods, love-hoods, and "sneal hoods"; hoods of Persian, of lustring, of gauze; frequently scarlet hoods are named. In 1712 Richard Hall sent, from Barbadoes to Boston, a trunk of his deceased wife's finery to be sold,

among which was "one black Flowered Gauze Hoode," and he added rather spitefully that he "could send better but it would be too rich for Boston." He was a grandson of Madam Symonds of Ipswich. Furbelowed gauze hoods were then owned by Boston women, and must have been pretty things. Their delicacy has kept them from being preserved as have been velvet and Persian hoods.

For the years 1673 to 1721 we have a personal record of domestic life in Boston, a diary which is the sole storehouse to which we can turn for intimate knowledge of daily deeds in that little town. A scant record it is, as to wearing apparel; for the diary-writer, Samuel Sewall, sometime business man, friend, neighbor, councillor, judge, — and always Puritan, — had not a regard of dress as had his English contemporary, the gay Samuel Pepys, or even that sober English gentleman, John Evelyn. In Pepys's pages we have frequent and light-giving entries as to dress, interested and interesting entries. In Judge Sewall's diary, any references to dress are wholly accidental and not related as matters of any moment, save one important exception, his attitude toward wigs and wig-wearing. I could wish Sewall had had a keener eye for dress, for he wrote in strong, well-ordered English; and when he was deeply moved he wrote with much color in his pen. The most spirited episodes in the book are the judge's remarkable and varied courtships after he was left a widower at the age of sixty-five, and again when sixty-eight. While thus courting he makes

almost his sole reference to women's dress, — that Madam Mico when he called came to him in a splendid dress, and that Madam Winthrop's dress, *after she had refused him*, was "not so clean as sometime it had been." But an article of his own dress, nevertheless, formed an important factor in his unsuccessful courtship of Madam Winthrop — his hood. When all the other widowers of the community, dignified magistrates, parsons, and men of professions, all bourgeoned out in stately full-bottomed wigs, what woman would want to have a lover who came a-courting in a hood? A detachable hood with a cloak, I doubt not he wore, like the one owned by Judge Curwen, his associate in that terrible tale of Salem's bigotry, cruelty, and credulity, the Witchcraft Trial. I cannot fancy Judge Sewall in a scarlet cloak and hood — a sad-colored one seems more in keeping with his temperament.

Perhaps our old friend, the judge, wore his hood under his hat, as did the sober citizens in *Piers Plowman;* and as did judges in England.

It is certain that many men wore hoods; and they wore occasionally a garment which was really woman's wear, namely, a "riding hood"; which was also called a Dutch hood, and was like Elinor Rummin's hake. This riding-hood was really more of a cloak than a head-covering, as it often had armholes. It might well be classed with cloaks. I may say here that it is not possible, either by years or by topics, to isolate completely each chapter of this book from the other. Its very arrangement,

being both by chronology and subject, gives me considerable liberty, which I now take in this chapter, by retaining the riding-hood among hoods, simply because of its name.

On May 6, 1717, the *Boston News Letter* gave a description of a gayly attired Indian runaway; she wore off a "red Camblet Ryding Hood fac'd with blue." Another servant absconded with an orange-colored riding-hood with armholes. I have an ancient pattern of a riding-hood; it was found in the bottom of an old hair-covered trunk. It was marked "London Ryding Hood." With it were rolled several packages of bits of woollen stuff, one of scarlet broadcloth, one of blue camlet, plainly labelled "Cuttings from Aphia's ryding hood" and "Pieces from Mary's ryding hood," showing that they had been placed there with the pattern when the hood was cut. It is a cape, cut in a deep point in front and back; the extreme length of the points from the collar being about twenty-six inches. The hood is precisely like the one on Judge Curwen's cloak, like the hoods of

Pink Silk Hood.

Pug Hood.

Shaker cloaks. As bits of silk are rolled with the wool pieces, I infer that these riding-hoods were silk lined.

A most romantic name was given to the riding-hood after the battle of Preston in 1715. The Earl of Nithsdale, after the defeat of the Jacobites, was imprisoned in the Tower of London under sentence of death. From thence he made his escape through his wife's coolness and ingenuity. She visited him dressed in a large riding-hood which could be drawn closely over her face. He escaped in her dress and hood, fled to the continent, and lived thirty years in safety in France. After that dashing rescue, these hoods were known as Nithsdales. The head-covering portion still resembled the French hood,

but the shoulder-covering portion was circular and ruffled — according to Hogarth. In Durfey's *Wit and Mirth*, 1719, is a spirited song commemorating this "sacred wife," who —

> "by her Wits immortal pains
> With her quick head has saved his brains."

One verse runs thus: —

> "Let Traitors against Kings conspire
> Let secret spies great Statesmen hire,
> Nought shall be by detection got
> If Woman may have leave to plot.
> There's nothing clos'd with Bars or Locks
> Can hinder Night-rayls, Pinners, Smocks;
> For they will everywhere make good
> As now they've done the Riding-hood."

In 1737 "pug hoods" were in fashion. We have no proof of their shape, though I am told they were the close, plain, silk hood sometimes worn under other hoods. One is shown on page 252. Pumpkin hoods of thickly wadded wool were prodigiously hot head-coverings; they were crudely pumpkin shaped. Knitted hoods, under such names as "comforters," "fascinators," "rigolettes," "nubias," "opera hoods," "molly hoods," are of nineteenth-century invention.

# CHAPTER IX

## CLOAKS AND THEIR COUSINS

"*Within my memory the Ladies covered their lovely Necks with a Cloak, this was exchanged for the Manteel; this again was succeeded by the Pelorine; the Pelorine by the Neckatee; the Neckatee by the Capuchin, which hath now stood its ground for a long time.*"

— "Covent Garden Journal," May 1, 1752.

"*Mary Wallace and Clemintina Ferguson Just arrived from the Kingdom of Ireland intend to follow the business of Mantua making and have furnished themselves from London in patterns of the following kinds of wear, and have fixed a correspondence so to have from thence the earliest Fashions in Miniature. They are at Peter Clarke's within two doors of William Walton's, Esq., in the Fly. Ladies and Gentlemen that employ them may depend on being expeditiously and reasonably served in making the following Articles, that is to say — Sacks, Negligees, Negligee-night-gowns, plain-night-gowns, pattanlears, shepherdesses, Roman cloaks, Cardinals, Capuchins, Dauphinesses, Shades lorrains, Bonnets and Hives.*"

— "New York Mercury," May, 1757.

# CHAPTER IX

## CLOAKS AND THEIR COUSINS

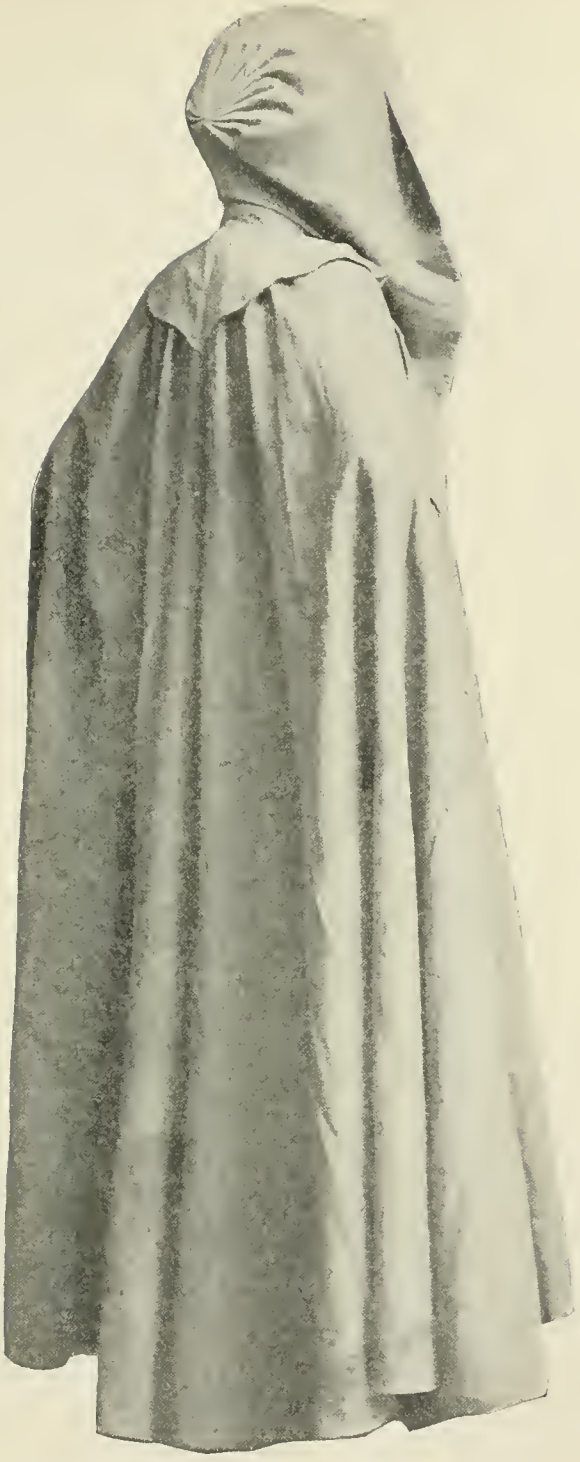
UNDER the general heading of cloaks I intend to write of the various capelike shoulder-coverings, for both men and women, which were worn in the two centuries of costume whereof this book treats. Often it is impossible to determine whether a garment should be classed as a hood or a cloak, for so many cloaks were made with head-coverings. Both capuchins and cardinals, garments of popularity for over a century, had hoods, and were worn as head-gear.

There is shown facing page 258 a full, long cloak of rich scarlet broadcloth, which is the oldest cloak I know. It has an interesting and romantic history. No relic in Salem is more noteworthy than this. It has survived since witchcraft days; and with right care, care such as it receives from its present owner, will last a thousand years. It was worn by Judge Curwen, one of the judges in those dark hours for Salem; and is still owned by Miss Bessie Curwen, his descendant. It will be noted that it bears a close resemblance to the Shaker cloaks of to-day, though the hood is handsomer. This hood also is detached from the cape. The presiding

justice in the Salem witchcraft trials was William Stoughton, a severe Puritan. In later years Judge Sewall, his fellow-judge, in an agony of contrition, remorse, self-reproach, self-abnegation, and exceeding sorrow at those judicial murders, stood in Boston meeting-house, at a Sabbath service while his pastor read aloud his confession of his cruel error, his expression of his remorse therefor. A striking figure is he in our history. No thoughtful person can regard without emotions of tenderest sympathy and admiration that benignant white-haired head, with black skullcap, bowed in public disgrace, which was really his honor. But Judge Stoughton never expressed, in public or private, remorse or even regret. I doubt if he ever felt either. He plainly deemed his action right. I wish he could tell us what he thinks of it now. In his portrait facing page 260 he wears a skullcap, as does Judge Sewall in his portrait, and a cloak with a cape like that of his third associate, Judge Curwen. Judge Sewall had both cloak and hood. Possibly all judges wore them. Judge Stoughton's cloak has a rich collar and a curious clasp.

Stubbes of course told of the fashion of cloak-wearing: —

"They have clokes also in nothing discrepant from the rest; of dyverse and sundry colours, white red tawnie black, green yellow russet purple violet and an infinyte of other colours. Some of cloth silk velvet taffetie and such like; some of the Spanish French or Dutch fashion. Some short, scarcely reaching to the gyrdlestead or waist, some to the knee, and othersome trayling upon the ground almost like gownes than clokes. These clokes must be garded



Scarlet Broadcloth Hooded Cloak.

laced & thorouly full, and sometimes so lined as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the outside. Some have sleeves, othersome have none. Some have hoodes to pull over the head, some have none. Some are hanged with points and tassels of gold silver silk, some without all this. But howsoever it bee, the day hath bene when one might have bought him two Clokes for lesse than now he can have one of these Clokes made for. They have such store of workmanship bestowed upon them."

It is such descriptions as this that make me regard in admiration this ancient Puritan. Would that I had the power of his pen! Fashion-plates, forsooth! The *Journal of the Modes!* — pray, what need have we of any pictures or any mantua-maker's words when we can have such a description as this. Why! the man had a perfect genius for millinery! Had he lived three centuries later, we might have had Master Stubbes in full control (openly or secretly, according to his environment) of some dress-making or tailoring establishment *pour les dames.*

The lining of these cloaks was often very gay in color and costly; "standing in as much as the outside." We find a son of Governor Winthrop writing in 1606: —

"I desire you to bring me a very good camlet cloake lyned with what you like except blew. It may be purple or red or striped with those or other colors if so worn suitable and fashionable. . . . I would make a hard shift rather than not have the cloak."

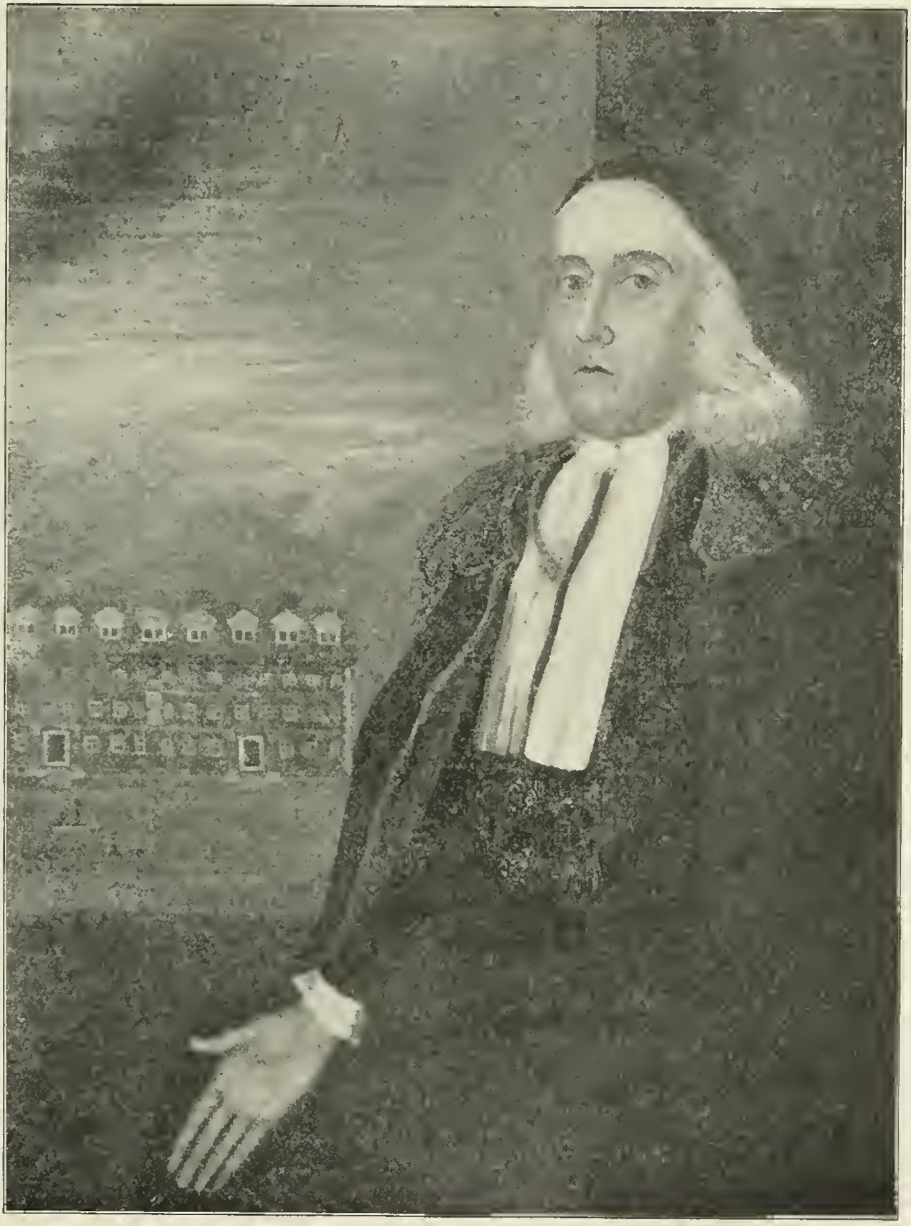
Similar cloaks of scarlet, and of blue lined with scarlet, formed part of the uniform of soldiers for

many years and for many nations. They were certainly the wear of thrifty comfortable English gentlemen. Did not John Gilpin wear one on his famous ride?

> "There was all that he might be
> Equipped from head to toe,
> His long red cloak well-brushed and neat
> He manfully did throw."

Scarlet was a most popular color for all articles of dress in the early years of the eighteenth century. Like the good woman in the Book of Proverbs, both English and American housewife "clothed her household in scarlet." Women as well as men wore these scarlet cloaks. It is curious to learn from Mrs. Gummere that even Quakers wore scarlet. When Margaret Fell married George Fox, greatest of Quakers, he bought her a scarlet mantle. And in 1678 he sent her scarlet cloth for another mantle. There was good reason in the wear of scarlet; it both was warm and looked warm; and the color was a lasting one. It did not fade like many of the home-made dyes.

A very interesting study is that of color in wearing apparel. Beginning with the few crude dyes of mediæval days, we could trace the history of dyeing, and the use and invention of new colors and tints. The names of these colors are delightful; the older quaint titles seem wonderfully significant. We read of such tints as billymot, phillymurt, or philomot (feuille-mort), murry, blemmish, gridolin (gris-de-lin or flax blossom), puce colour, foulding colour, Kendal green, Lincoln green, treen-colour, watchet



Judge Stoughton.

blue, barry, milly, tuly, stammel red, Bristol red, zaffer-blue, which was either sapphire-blue or zaffre-blue, and a score of fanciful names whose signification and identification were lost with the death of the century. Historical events were commemorated in new hues; we have the political, diplomatic, and military history of various countries hinted to us. Great discoveries and inventions give names to colors. The materials and methods of dyeing, especially domestic dyes, are most interesting. An allied topic is the significance of colors, the limitation of their use. For instance, the study of blue would fill a chapter. The dress of 'prentices and serving-men in Elizabeth's day was always blue; blue cloaks in winter, blue coats in summer. Blue was not precisely a livery; it was their color, the badge of their condition in life, as black is now a parson's. Different articles of dress clung to certain colors. Green stockings had their time and season of clothing the sturdy legs of English dames as inevitably as green stalks filled the fields. Think of the years of domination of the green apron; of the black hood — it is curious indeed.

In such exhaustive books upon special topics as the *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* we find wonderfully interesting and significant proof of the power of color; also in many the restrictive sumptuary laws of the Crown.

It would appear that this long, scarlet cloak never was out of wear for men and women until the nineteenth century. It was, at times, not the height of the fashion, but still was worn. Various ancient citizens

of Boston, of Salem, are recalled through letter or traditions as clinging long to this comfortable cloak. Samuel Adams carried a scarlet cloak with him when he went to Washington.

I shall tell in a later chapter of my own great-great-grandmother's wear of a scarlet cloak until the opening years of the nineteenth century. During and after the Revolution these cloaks remained in high favor for women. French officers, writing home to France glowing accounts of the fair Americans, noted often that the ladies wore scarlet cloaks, and Madame Riedesel asserted that all gentlewomen in Canada never left the house save in a scarlet silk or cloth cloak.

"A woman's long scarlet cloak, almost new with a double cape," had been one of the articles feloniously taken from the house of Benjamin Franklin, printer, in Philadelphia, in 1750. Debby Franklin's dress, if we can judge from what was stolen, was a gay revel of color. Among the articles was one gown having a pattern of "large red roses and other large yellow flowers with blue in some of the flowers with many green leaves."

In the *Life of Jonathan Trumbull* we read that when a collection was taken in the Lebanon church for the benefit of the soldiers of the Continental army, when money, jewels, clothing, and food were gathered in a great heap near the pulpit, Madam Faith Trumbull rose up, threw from her shoulders her splendid scarlet cloth cloak, a gift from Count Rochambeau, advanced to the altar and laid the cloak with other offerings of patriotism and generos-

ity. It was used, we are told, to trim the uniforms of the Continental officers and soldiers.

One of the first entries in regard to dress made by Philip Fithian in 1773, when he went to Virginia as a school-teacher, was that "almost every Lady wears a Red Cloak; and when they ride out they tye a Red Handkerchief over their Head & Face; so when I first came to Virginia, I was distrest whenever I saw a Lady, for I thought she had the Tooth-Ach!" When the young tutor left his charge a year later, he wrote a long letter of introduction, instruction, and advice to his successor; and so much impression had this riding-dress still upon him that he recounted at length the "Masked Ladies," as he calls them, explaining that the whole neck and face was covered, save a narrow slit for the eyes, as if they had "the Mumps or Tooth-Ach." It is possible that the insect torments encountered by the fair riders may have been the reason for this cloaking and masking. Not only mosquitoes and flies and fleas were abundant, but Fithian tells of the

Woman's Cloak. From Hogarth.

irritating illness and high fever of the fairest of his little flock from being bitten with ticks, "which cover her like a distinct smallpox."

In seventeenth-century inventories an occasional item is a rocket. I think no better description of a rocket can be given than that of Celia Fiennes: —

"You meete all sorts of countrywomen wrapped up in the mantles called West Country Rockets, a large mantle doubled together, of a sort of serge, some are linsey-woolsey and a deep fringe or fag at the lower end; these hang down, some to their feet, some only just below the waist; in the summer they are all in white garments of this sort, in the winter they are in red ones."

This would seem much like a blanket shawl, but the word was also applied to the scarlet round cloak.

Another much-used name and cloaklike garment was the roquelaure. A very good contemporary definition may be copied from *A Treatise on the Modes*, 1715; it says it is "a short abridgement or compendium of a coat which is dedicated to the Duke of Roquelaure." It was simply a shorter cloak than had been worn, and it was hoodless; for the great curled wigs with heavy locks well over the shoulders made hoods superfluous, and even impossible, for men's wear. It was very speedily taken into favor by women; and soon the advertisements of lost articles show that it was worn by women universally as by men. In the *Boston News Letter*, in 1730, a citizen advertises that he has lost his "Blue Cloak or Roculo with brass buttons." This was the first of an ingenious series of misspellings which pro-

duced at times a word almost unrelated to the original French word. Rocklow, rockolet, roquelo, rochelo, roquello, and even rotkello have I found. Ashton says that scarlet cloth was the favorite fabric for roquelaures in England; and he deems the scarlet roclows and rocliers with gold loops and buttons "exceeding magnifical." I note in the American advertisements that the lost roquelaures are of very bright colors; some were of silk, some of camlet; generally they are simply 'cloth.' Many of the American roquelaures had double capes. I think those handsome, gay cloaks must have given a very bright, cheerful aspect to the town streets of the middle of the eighteenth century.

Sir William Pepperell, who was ever a little shaky in his spelling, but possibly no more so than his neighbors, sent in 1737 from Piscataqua to one Hooper in England for "A Handsom Rockolet for my daughter of about 15 yrs. old, or what is ye Most Newest Fashion for one of her age to ware at meeting in ye Wint^r Season."

The capuchin was a hooded cloak named from the hooded garment worn by the Capuchin monks. The date 1752 given by Fairholt as an early date of its wear is far wrong. Fielding used the word in *Tom Jones* in 1749; other English publications, in 1709; and I find it in the *Letters of Madame de Sévigné* as early as 1686. The cardinal, worn at the same date, was originally of scarlet cloth, and I find was generally of some wool stuff. At one time I felt sure that cardinal was always the name for the woollen cloak, and capuchin of the silken one; but

now I am a bit uncertain whether this is a rule. Judging from references in literature and advertisements, the capuchin was a richer garment than the cardinal. Capuchins were frequently trimmed liberally with lace, ribbons, and robings; were made of silk with gauze ruffles, or of figured velvet. One is here shown which is taken from one of Hogarth's prints.

A Capuchin. From Hogarth.

This notice is from the *Boston Evening Post* of January 13, 1772:—

"Taken from Concert Hall on Thursday Evening a handsom Crimson Satin Capuchin trimmed with a rich white Blond Lace with a narrow Blond Lace on the upper edge Lined with White Sarsnet."

In 1752 capuchins and cardinals were much worn, especially purple ones. The *Connoisseur* says all colors were neglected for purple. "In purple we glowed from hat to shoe. In such request were ribbons and silks of that famous color that neither milliner mercer nor dyer could meet the demand."

The names "cardinal" and "capuchin" had been

derived from monkish wear, and the cape, called a pelerine, had an allied derivation; it is said to be derived from *pèlerin* — meaning a pilgrim. It was a small cape with longer ends hanging in front; and was invented as a light, easily adjustable covering for the ladies' necks, which had been left so widely and coldly bare by the low-cut French bodices. It is said that the garment was invented in France in 1671. I do not find the word in use in America till 1730. Then mantua-makers advertised that they would make them. Various materials were used, from soft silk and thin cloth to rich velvet; but silk pelerines were more common.

In 1743, in the *Boston News Letter*, Henrietta Maria East advertised that "Ladies may have their Pellerines made" at her mantua-making shop. In 1749 "pellerines" were advertised for sale in the *Boston Gazette* and a black velvet "pellerine" was lost.

In the quotation heading this chapter, manteel, pelerine, and neckatee precede the capuchin; but in fact the capuchin is as old as the pelerine. Beyond the fact that all mantua-makers made neckatees, and that they were a small cape, this garment cannot be described. It required much less stuff than either capuchin or cardinal. The "manteel" was, of course, as old as the cloak. Elijah "took his mantle and wrapped it together, and smote the waters." In the Middle Ages the mantle was a great piece of cloth in any cloaklike shape, of which the upper corners were fastened at the neck. Often one of the front edges was thrown over one

shoulder. In the varied forms of spelling and wearing, as manto, manteau, mantoon, mantelet, and mantilla the foundation is the same. We have noted the richness and elegance of Madam Symonds's mantua. We could not forget the word and its signification while we have so important a use of it in mantua-maker.

Lady Caroline Montagu.

Dauphiness was the name of a certain style of mantle, which was most popular about 1750. Harriot Paine had "Dauphiness Mantles" for sale in Boston in 1755. A rude drawing in an old letter indicates that the "Dauphiness" had a deep point at the back, and was cut up high at the arm-hole. It was of thin silk, and was trimmed all around the lower edge with a deep, full frill of the silk, which at the arm-hole fell over the arm like a short sleeve.

Many were the names of those pretty little cloaks and capes which were worn with the sacque-shaped gowns. The duchess was one; we revived the name for a similar mantle in 1870. The pelisse was in France the cloak with arm-holes, shown, on page 268, upon one of Sir Joshua Reynolds's engaging children. The pelisse in America sometimes had sleeves, I am sure; and was hardly a cloak. It is difficult to classify some forms which seem almost jackets. A general distinction may be made not to include sleeved garments with the cloaks; but several of the manteaus had loose, large, flowing sleeves, and some like Madam Symonds's had detached sleeves. It is also difficult to know whether some of the negligees were cloaks or sacque-like gowns. And there is the other extreme; some of the smaller, circular neck-coverings like the vandykes are not cloaks. They are scarcely capes; they are merely collars; but there are still others which are a bit bigger and are certainly capes. And are there not also capes, like the neckatee, which may be termed cloaks? Material, too, is bewildering; a light gauze thing of ribbons and furbelows like the Unella is not really a cloak, yet it takes a cloaklike form. There are no cut and dried rules as to size, form, or weight of these cloaks, capes, collars, and hoods, so I have formed my own classes and assignments.

# CHAPTER X

## THE DRESS OF OLD-TIME CHILDREN

"*Rise up to thy Elders, put off thy Hat, make a Leg.*"

— "Janua Linguarum," Comenius, 1664.

"*Little ones are taught to be proud of their clothes before they can put them on.*"

— "Essay on Human Understanding," Locke, 1687.

"*When thou thyself, a watery, pulpy, slobbery Freshman and newcomer on this Planet, sattest mewling in thy nurse's arms; sucking thy coral, and looking forth into the world in the blankest manner, what hadst thou been without thy blankets and bibs and other nameless hulls?*"

— "Sartor Resartus," Thomas Carlyle, 1836.

# CHAPTER X

## THE DRESS OF OLD-TIME CHILDREN

WHEN we reflect that in any community the number of "the younger sort" is far larger than of grown folk, when we know, too, what large families our ancestors had, in all the colonies, we must deem any picture of social life, any history of costume, incomplete unless the dress of children is shown. French and English books upon costume are curiously silent regarding such dress. It might be alleged as a reason for this singular silence that the dress of young children was for centuries precisely that of their elders, and needed no specification. But infants' dress certainly was widely different, and full of historic interest, as well as quaint prettiness; and there were certain details of the dress of older children that were most curious and were wholly unlike the contemporary garb of their elders; sometimes these details were survivals of ancient modes for grown folk, sometimes their name was a survival while their form had changed.

For the dress of children of the early years of colonial life — the seventeenth century — I have an unusual group of five portraits. One is the little Padishal child, shown with her mother in the frontis-

piece, one is Robert Gibbes (shown facing page 316). The third child is said to be John Quincy — his picture is opposite this page. The two portraits of Margaret and Henry Gibbes are owned in Virginia; but are too dimly photographed for reproduction. The portrait of Robert Gibbes is owned by inheritance by Miss Sarah B. Hager, of Kendal Green, Massachusetts. It is well preserved, having hung for over a hundred years on the same wall in the old house. He was four years old when this portrait was painted. It is marked 1670. John Quincy's portrait is marked also plainly as one and a half years old, and with a date which is a bit dimmed; it is either 1670 or 1690. If it is 1690, the picture can be that of John Quincy, though he would scarcely be as large as is the portrayed figure. If the date is 1670, it cannot be John Quincy, for he was born in 1689. The picture has the same checker-board floor as the three other Gibbes portraits, four rows of squares wide; and the child's toes are set at the same row as are the toes of the shoes in the picture of Robert Gibbes.

The portraits of Henry and Margaret Gibbes are also marked plainly 1670. There was a fourth Gibbes child, who would have been just the age of the subject of the Quincy portrait; and it is natural that there should be a suspicion that this fourth portrait is of the fourth Gibbes child, not of John Quincy.

Margaret Gibbes was born in 1663. Henry Gibbes was born in 1667. He became a Congregational minister. His daughter married Nathaniel

John Quincy.

Appleton, and through Nathaniel, John, Dr. John S., and John, the portrait, with that of Margaret, came to the present owner, General John W. S. Appleton, of Charlestown, West Virginia.

The dress of these five children is of the same rich materials that would be worn by their mothers. The Padishal child wears black velvet like her mother's gown; but her frock is brightened with scarlet points of color. The linings of the velvet hanging sleeves, the ribbon knots of the white virago-sleeve, the shoe-tip, the curious cap-tassel, are of bright scarlet. We have noted the dominance of scarlet in old English costumes. It was evidently the only color favored for children. The lace cap, the rich lace stomacher, the lace-edged apron, all are of Flemish lace. Margaret Gibbes wears a frock of similar shape, and equally rich and dark in color; it is a heavy brocade of blue and red, with a bit of yellow. Her fine apron, stomacher, and full sleeves are rich in needlework. Robert Gibbes's "coat," as a boy's dress at that age then was called, is a striking costume. The inmost sleeves are of white lawn, over them are sleeves made of strips of galloon of a pattern in yellow, white, scarlet, and black, with a rolled cuff of red velvet. There is a similar roll around the hem of the coat. Still further sleeves are hanging sleeves of velvet trimmed with the galloon.

It will be noted that his hanging sleeve is cut square and trimmed squarely across the end. It is similar to the sleeves worn at the same time by citizens of London in their formal "liveryman's" dress,

which had bands like pockets, that sometimes really were pockets.

His plain, white, hemstitched band would indicate that he was a boy, did not the swing of his petticoats plainly serve to show it, as do also his brothers' "coats." That child knew well what it was to tread and trip on those hated petticoats as he went upstairs. I know how he begged for breeches. The apron of John Quincy varies slightly in shape from that of the other boy, but the general dress is like, save his pretty, gay, scarlet hood, worn over a white lace cap. One unique detail of these Gibbes portraits, and the Quincy portrait, is the shoes. In all four, the shoes are of buff leather, with absolutely square toes, with a thick, scarlet sole to which the buff-leather upper seems tacked with a row either of long, thick, white stitches or of heavy metal-headed nails; these white dots are very ornamental. One pair of the shoes has great scarlet roses on the instep. The square toe was distinctly a Cavalier fashion. It is in Miss Campion's portrait, facing this page, and in the print of the Prince of Orange on page 282, and is found in many portraits of the day. But these American shoes are in the minor details entirely unlike any English shoes I have seen in any collection elsewhere, and are most interesting. They were doubtless English in make.

The portrait of John Quincy resembles much in its dress that of Oliver Cromwell when two years old, the picture now at Chequers Court. Cromwell's linen collar is rounded, and a curious ornament is worn in front, as a little girl would wear a

Miss Campion, 1667.

locket. The whole throat and a little of the upper neck is bare. Dark hair, slightly curled, comes out from the close cap in front of the ears. This picture of Cromwell distinctly resembles his mother's portrait.

The quaint tassel or rosette or feather on the cap of the Padishal child was a fashion of the day. It is seen in many Dutch portraits of children. In a curious old satirical print of Oliver Cromwell preaching are the figures of two little children drawn standing by their mother's side. One child's back is turned for our sight, and shows us what might well be the back of the gown of the Padishal child. The cap has the same ornament on the crown, and the hanging sleeves — of similar form — have, at intervals of a few inches apart from shoulder to heel, an outside embellishment of knots of ribbon. There is also a band or strip of embroidery or passementerie up the back of the gown from skirt-hem to lace collar, with a row of buttons on the strip. This proves that the dress was fastened in the back, as the stiff, unbroken, white stomacher also indicates. The other child is evidently a boy. His gown is long and fur-edged. His cap is round like a Scotch bonnet, and has also a tuft or rosette at the crown. On either side hang long strings or ribbon bands reaching from the cap edge to the knee.

These portraits of these little American children display nothing of that God-given attribute which we call genius, but they do possess a certain welcome trait, which is truthfulness; a hard attention to detail, which confers on them a quality of exactness of

likeness of which we are very sensible. We have for comparison a series of portraits of the same dates, but of English children, the children of the royal and court families. I give on page 126 a part of the portrait group of the family of the Duke of Buckingham; namely, the Duchess of Buckingham and her two children, an infant son and a daughter, Mary. She was a wonderful child, known in the court as "Pretty Moll," having the beauty of her father, the "handsomest-bodied" man in court, his vivacity, his vigor, and his love of dancing, all of which made him the prime favorite both of James and his son, Charles.

A letter exists written by the duchess to her husband while he was gone to Spain with his thirty suits of richly embroidered garments of which I have written in my first chapter. The duchess writes of "Pretty Moll," who was not a year old: —

"She is very well, I thank God; and when she is set to her feet and held by her sleeves she will not go softly but stamp, and set one foot before another very fast, and I think she will run before she can go. She loves dancing extremely; and when the Saraband is played, she will get her thumb and finger together offering to snap; and then when "Tom Duff" is sung, she will shake her apron; and when she hears the tune of the clapping dance my Lady Frances Herbert taught the Prince, she will clap both her hands together, and on her breast, and she can tell the tunes as well as any of us can; and as they change tunes she will change her dancing. I would you were here but to see her, for you would take much delight in her now she is so full of pretty play and tricks. Everybody says she grows each day more like you."

Can you not see the engaging little creature, clapping her hands and trying to step out in a dance? No imaginary description could equal in charm this bit of real life, this word-picture painted in bright and living colors by a mother's love. I give another merry picture of her childhood and widowhood in a later chapter. Many portraits of "Pretty Moll" were painted by Van Dyck, more than of any woman in England save the queen. One shows her in the few months that she was the child-wife of the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke. She is in the centre of the great family group. She was married thrice; her favorite choice of character in which to be painted was Saint Agnes, who died rather than be married at all.

Infant's Cap.

Both mother and child in this picture wear a lace cap of unusual shape, rather broader where turned over at the ear than at the top. It is seen on a few other portraits of that date, and seems to have come to England with the queen of James I. It disappeared before the graceful modes of hair-dressing introduced by Queen Henrietta Maria.

The genius of Van Dyck has preserved for us a wonderful portraiture of children of this period, the children of King Charles I. The earliest group

shows the king and queen with two children; one a baby in arms with long clothes and close cap — this might have been painted yesterday. The little prince standing at his father's knee is in a dark green frock, much like John Quincy's, and apparently no richer. A painting at Windsor shows king and queen with the two princes, Charles and James; another, also at Windsor, gives the mother with the two sons. One at Turin gives the two princes with their sister. At Windsor, and in *replica* at Berlin, is the famous masterpiece with the five children, dated 1637.

This exquisite group shows Charles, the Prince of Wales (aged seven), with his arm on the head of a great dog; he is in the full garb of a grown man, a Cavalier. His suit is red satin; the shoes are white, with red roses. Mary, demure as in all her portraits, is aged six; she wears virago-sleeves made like those of Margaret Gibbes, with hanging sleeves over them, a lace stomacher, and cap, with tufts of scarlet, and hair curled lightly on the forehead, and pulled out at the side in ringlets, like that of her mother, Henrietta Maria. The Duke of York, aged two, wears a red dress spotted with yellow, with sleeves precisely like those of Robert Gibbes; white lace-edged apron, stomacher, and cap; his hair is in curls. The Princess Elizabeth was aged about two; she is in blue. Her cap is of wrought and tucked lawn, and she wears either a pearl ear-ring or a pearl pendant at the corner of the cap just at the ear, and a string of pearls around her neck. She has a gentle, serious face, one with a premonitory tinge of sad-

Eleanor Foster. 1755.

ness. She was the favorite daughter of the king, and wrote the inexpressibly touching account of his last days in prison. She was but thirteen, and he said to her the day before his execution, "Sweetheart, you will forget all this." "Not while I live," she answered, with many tears, and promised to write it down. She lived but a short time, for she was broken-hearted; she was found dead, with her head lying on the religious book she had been reading — in which attitude she is carved on her tomb. The baby is Princess Anne, a fat little thing not a year old; she is naked, save for a close cap and a little drapery. She died when three and a half years old; died with these words on her lips, "Lighten Thou mine eyes, O Lord, that I sleep not the sleep of Death." It was not Puritan children only at that time who were filled with deep religious thought, and gave expression to that thought even in infancy; children of the Church of England and of the Roman Catholic Church were all widely imbued with religious feeling, and Biblical words were the familiar speech of the day, of both young and old. It rouses in me strange emotions when I gaze at this portrait and remember all that came into the lives of these royal children. They had been happier had they been born, like the little Gibbes children, in America, and of untitled parents.

At Amsterdam may be seen the portrait of Princess Mary painted with her cousin, William of Orange, who became her child-husband. She had the happiest life of any of the five — if she ever

could be happy after her father's tragic death. In this later portrait she is a little older and sadder and stiffer. Her waist is more pinched, her shoulders

narrower, her face more demure. His likeness is here given. The only marked difference in the dress of these children from the dress of the Gibbes children is in the lace; the royal family wear laces

with deeply pointed edges, the point known as a Vandyke. The American children wear straight-edged laces, as was the general manner of laces of that day. An old print of the Duke of York when about seven years old is given (facing page 168). He carries in his hand a quaint racket.

The costume worn by these children is like that of plebeian English children of the same date. A manuscript drawing of a child of the people in the reign of Charles I shows a precisely similar dress, save that the child is in leading-strings held by the mother; and in the belt to which the leading-strings are attached is thrust a "muckinder" or handkerchief.

These leading-strings are seldom used now, but they were for centuries a factor in a child's progress. They were a favorite gift to children; and might be a simple flat strip of strong stuff, or might be richly worked like the leading-strings which Mary, Queen of Scots embroidered for her little baby, James. These are three bands of Spanish pink satin ribbon, each about four or five feet long and over an inch wide. The three are sewed with minute over-and-over stitches into a flat band about four inches wide, and are embroidered with initials, emblems of the crown, a verse of a psalm, and a charming flower and grape design. The gold has tarnished into brown, and the flower colors are fled; but it is still a beautiful piece of work, speaking with no uncertain voice of a tender, loving mother and a womanly queen. There were crewel-worked leading-strings in America. One is prettily lined with strips of

handsome brocade that had been the mother's wedding petticoat; it is not an ill rival of the princely leading-strings.

Another little English girl, who was not a princess, but who lived in the years when ran and played our little American children, was Miss Campion, who "minded her horn-book" — minded it so well that she has been duly honored as the only English child ever painted with horn-book in hand. Her petticoat and stomacher, her apron, and cap and hanging sleeves and square-toed shoes are just like Margaret Gibbes's — bought in the same London shops, very likely.

Not only did all these little English and American children dress alike, but so did French children, and so did Spanish children — only little Spanish girls had to wear hoops. Hoops were invented in Spain; and proud was the Spanish queen of them.

Velasquez, contemporary with Van Dyck, painted the Infanta Maria Theresa; the portrait is now in the Prado at Madrid. She carries a handkerchief as big as a tablecloth; but above her enormous hoop appears not only the familiar virago-sleeve, but the straight whisk or collar, just like that of English children and dames. This child and the Princess Marguerite, by Velasquez, have the hair parted on one side with the top lock turned aside and tied with a knot of ribbon precisely as we tie our little daughters' hair to-day; and as the bride of Charles II wore her hair when he married her. French children had not assumed hoops. I have an old French portrait before me of a little demoi-

selle, aged five, in a scarlet cloth gown with edgings of a narrow gray gimp or silver lace. All the sleeves, the slashes, the long, hanging sleeves are thus edged. She wears a long, narrow, white lawn apron, and her stiff bodice has a stomacher of lawn. There is a straight white collar tied with tiny bows in front and white cuffs; a scarlet close cap edged with silver lace completes an exquisite costume, which is in shape like that of Margaret Gibbes. The garments of all these children, royal and subject, are too long, of course, for comfort in walking; too stiff, likewise, for comfort in wearing; too richly laced to be suitable for everyday wear; too costly, save for folk of wealth; yet nevertheless so quaint, so becoming, so handsome, so rich, that we reluctantly turn away from them.

The dress of all young children in families of estate was cumbersome to a degree. There exists to-day a warrant for the purchase of clothing of Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, when she was a sportive, wilful, naughty little child of four. She wore such unwieldy and ugly guise as this: kirtles of tawny damask and black satin; gowns of green and crimson striped velvet edged with purple tinsel, which must have been hideous. All were lined with heavy black buckram. Indeed, the inner portions, the linings of old-time garments, even of royalty, were far from elegant. I have seen garments worn by grown princesses of the eighteenth century, whereof the rich brocade bodies were lined with common, heavy fabric, usually a stiff linen; and the sewing was done with thread as coarse as shoe-

thread, often homespun. This, too, when the sleeve and neck-ruffles would be of needlework so exquisite that it could not be rivalled in execution to-day.

Many of the older portraits of children show hanging sleeves. The rich claret velvet dresses of the Van Cortlandt twins, aged four, had hanging sleeves. This dress is given in my book, *Child Life in Colonial Days*, as is that of Katherine Ten Broeck, another child of Dutch birth living in New York, who also wore heavy hanging sleeves.

The use of the word hanging sleeves in common speech and in literature is most interesting. It had a figurative meaning; it symbolized youth and innocence. This meaning was acquired, of course, from the wear for centuries of hanging sleeves by little children, both boys and girls. It had a second, a derivative signification, being constantly employed as a figure of speech to indicate second childhood; it was used with a wistful tender meaning as an emblem of the helplessness of feeble old age. The following example shows such an employment of the term.

In 1720, Judge Samuel Sewall, of Boston, then about seventy-five years of age, wrote to another old gentleman, whose widowed sister he desired to marry, in these words: —

"I remember when I was going from school at Newbury to have sometime met your sisters Martha and Mary in Hanging Sleeves, coming home from their school in Chandlers Lane, and have had the pleasure of speaking to them. And I could find it in my heart now to speak to Mrs. Martha again, now I myself am reduc'd to Hanging Sleeves."

William Byrd, of Westover, in Virginia, in one of his engaging and sprightly letters written in 1732, pictures the time of the patriarchs when "a man was reckoned at Years of Discretion at 100; Boys went into Breeches at about 40; Girles continued in Hanging Sleeves till 50, and plaid with their Babys till Threescore."

When Benjamin Franklin was seven years old, he wrote a poem which was sent to his uncle, a bright old Quaker. This uncle responded in clever lines which begin thus: —

> "'Tis time for me to throw aside my pen
> When Hanging-Sleeves read, write and rhyme like men.
> This forward Spring foretells a plenteous crop
> For if the bud bear grain, what will the top?"

A curious use of the long hanging sleeve was as a pocket; that is, it would seem curious to us were it not for our acquaintance with the capacity of the sleeves of our unwelcome friend, Ah Sing. The pocketing sleeve of the time of Henry III still exists in the heraldic charge known as the manche, borne by the Hastings and Norton family. This is also called maunch, émanche, and mancheron. The word "manchette," an ornamented cuff, retains the meaning of the word, as does manacle; all are from *manus*.

Hanging sleeves had a time of short popularity for grown folk while Anne Boleyn was queen of England; for the little finger of her left hand had a double tip, and the long, graceful sleeves effectually concealed the deformity.

In my book entitled *Child Life in Colonial Days* I have given over thirty portraits of American children. These show the changes of fashions, the wear of children at various periods and ages. Childish dress ever reflected the dress of their elders, and often closely imitated it. Two very charming costumes are worn by two little children of the province of South Carolina. The little girl is but two years old. She is Ellinor Cordes, and was painted about 1740. She is a lovely little child of French features and French daintiness of dress, albeit a bright yellow brocaded satin would seem rather gorgeous attire for a girl of her years. The boy is her kinsman, Daniel Ravenel, and was then about five years old. He wore what might be termed a frock with spreading petticoats, which touched the ground; there is a decided boyishness in the tight-fitting, trim waistcoat with its silver buttons and lace, and the befrogged coat with broad cuffs and wrist ruffles, and turned-over revers, and narrow linen inner collar. It is an exceptionally pleasing boy's dress, for a little boy.

A somewhat similar but more feminine coat is worn by Thomas Aston Coffin; it opens in front over a white satin petticoat, and it has a low-cut neck and sleeves shortened to the elbow, and worn over full white undersleeves. Other portraits by Copley show the same dress of white satin, which boys wore till six years of age.

Copley's portrait of his own children is given on a later page. This family group always startles all who have seen it only in photographs; for its colors

Mrs. Theodore Sedgwick and Daughter.

are so unexpected, so frankly crude and vivid. The individuals are all charming. The oldest child, the daughter, Elizabeth, stands in the foreground in a delightful white frock of striped gauze. This is worn over a pink slip, and the pink tints show in the thinner folds of whiteness; a fine piece of texture-painting. The gauze sash is tied in a vast knot, and lies out in a train; this is a more vivid pink, inclining to the tint of the old-rose damask furniture-covering. She wears a pretty little net and muslin cap with a cap-pin like a tiny rose. This single figure is not excelled, I think, by any child's portrait in foreign galleries, nor is it often equalled. Nor can the exquisite expression of childish love and confidence seen on the face of the boy, John Singleton Copley, Junior, who later became Lord Lyndhurst, find a rival in painting. It is an unspeakably touching portrait to all who have seen upturned close to their own eyes the trusting and loving face of a beautiful son as he clung with strong boyish arms and affection to his mother's neck.

Infant Child of Francis Hopkinson, "the Signer." Painted by Francis Hopkinson.

This little American boy, who became Lord Chancellor of England, wears a nankeen suit with

a lilac-tinted sash. It is his beaver hat with gold hatband and blue feather that lies on the ground at the feet of the grandfather, Richard Clarke. The baby, held by the grandfather, wears a coral and bells on a lilac sash-ribbon; such a coral as we see in many portraits of infants. Another child in white-embroidered robe and dark yellow sash completes this beautiful family picture. Its great fault to me is the blue of Mrs. Copley's gown, which is as vivid as a peacock's breast. This painting is deemed Copley's masterpiece; but an equal interest is that it is such an absolute and open expression of Copley's lovable character and upright life. In it we can read his affectionate nature, his love of his sweet wife, his happy home-relations, and his pride in his beautiful children.

There is ample proof, not only in the inventories which chance to be preserved, but in portraits of the times, that children's dress in the eighteenth century was often costly. Of course the children of wealthy parents only would have their portraits painted; but their dress was as rich as the dress of the children of the nobility in England at the same time. You can see this in the colored reproduction of the portraits of Hon. James Bowdoin and his sister, Augusta, afterwards Lady Temple. That they were good likenesses is proved by the fact that the faces are strongly like those of the same persons in more mature years. You find little Augusta changed but slightly in matronhood in the fine pastel by Copley. In this portrait of the two Bowdoin children, the entire dress is

given. Seldom are the shoes shown. These are interesting, for the boy's square-toed black shoes with buckles are wholly unlike his sister's blue morocco slippers with turned-up peaks and gilt ornaments from toe to instep, making a foot-gear much like certain Turkish slippers seen to-day. Her hair has the bedizenment of beads and feathers, which were worn by young girls for as many years as their mothers wore the same. The young lad's dress is precisely like his father's. There is much charm in these straight little figures. They have the aristocratic bearing which is a family trait of all of that kin. I should not deem Lady Temple ever a beauty, though she was called so by Manasseh Cutler, a minister who completely yielded to her charms when she was a grandmother and forty-four. This portrait of brother and sister is, I believe, by Blackburn. The dress is similar and the date the same as the portrait of the Misses Royall (one of whom became Lady Pepperell), which is by Blackburn.

Mary Seton, 1763.

The portrait of a charming little American child

is shown on page 291. This child, in feature, figure, and attitude, and even in the companionship of the kitten, is a curious replica of a famous English portrait of "Miss Trimmer."

I have written at length in Chapter IV of a grandmother in the Hall family and of the Hall family connection. Let me tell of another grandmother, Madam Lydia Coleman, the daughter of the old Indian fighter, Captain Joshua Scottow. She, like Madam Symonds and Madam Stoddard, had had several husbands — Colonel Benjamin Gibbs, Attorney-General Anthony Checkley, and William Coleman. The Hall children were her grandchildren; and came to Boston for schooling at one time. Many letters exist of Hon. Hugh Hall to and from his grandmother, Madam Coleman. She writes thus: —

"As for Richard since I told him I would write to his Father he is more orderly, & he is very hungry, and has grown so much yt all his Clothes is too Little for him. He loves his book and his play too. I hired him to get a Chapter of ye Proverbs & give him a penny every Sabbath day, & promised him 5 shillings when he can say them all by heart. I would do my duty by his soul as well as his body. . . . He has grown a good boy and minds his School and Lattin and Dancing. He is a brisk Child & grows very Cute and wont wear his new silk coat yt was made for him. He wont wear it every day so yt I don't know what to do with it. It wont make him a jackitt. I would have him a good husbander but he is but a child. For shoes, gloves, hankers & stockins, they ask very deare, 8 shillings for a paire & Richard takes no care of them.

Richard wears out nigh 12 paire of shoes a year. He brought 12 hankers with him and they have all been lost long ago; and I have bought him 3 or 4 more at a time. His way is to tie knottys at one end & beat ye Boys with them and then to lose them & he cares not a bit what I will say to him."

Madam Coleman, after this handful, was given charge of his sister Sarah. When Missy arrived from the Barbadoes, she was eight years old. She brought with her a maid. The grandmother wrote back cheerfully to the parents that the child was well and brisk, as indeed she was. All the very young gentlemen and young ladies of Boston Brahmin blood paid her visits, and she gave a feast at a child's dancing-party with the sweetmeats left over from her sea-store. Her stay in her grandmother's household was surprisingly brief. She left unbidden with her maid, and went to a Mr. Binning's to board; she sent home word to the Barbadoes that her grandmother made her drink water with her meals. Her brother wrote to Madam Coleman: —

"We were all persuaded of your tender and hearty affection to my Sister when we recommended her to your parental care. We are sorry to hear of her Independence in removing from under the Benign Influences of your Wing & am surprised she dare do it without our leave or consent or that Mr. Binning receive her at his house before he knew how we were affected to it. We shall now desire Mr. Binning to resign her with her waiting maid to you and in our Letter to him have strictly ordered her to Return to your House."

But no brother could control this spirited young damsel. Three months later a letter from Madam Coleman read thus:—

"Sally wont go to school nor to church and wants a nue muff and a great many other things she don't need. I tell her fine things are cheaper in Barbadoes. She is well and brisk, says her Brother has nothing to do with her as long as her father is alive."

Hugh Hall wrote in return, saying his daughter ought to have one room to sleep in, and her maid another, that it was not befitting children of their station to drink water, they should have wine and beer. We cannot wonder that they dressed like their elders since they were treated like their elders in other respects.

The dress of very young girls was often extraordinarily rich. We find this order sent to London in 1739, for finery for Mary Cabell, daughter of Dr. William Cabell of Virginia, when she was but thirteen years old:—

"1 Prayer Book (almost every such inventory had this item).
1 Red Silk Petticoat.
1 Very good broad Silver laced hat and hat-band.
1 Pair Stays 17 inches round the waist.
2 Pair fine Shoes.
12 Pair fine Stockings.
1 Hoop Petticoat.
1 Pair Ear rings.
1 Pair Clasps.
3 Pair Silver Buttons set with Stones.

The Bowdoin Children. Lady Temple and Governor James Bowdoin in Childhood.

1 Suit of Headclothes.
4 Fine Handkerchiefs and Ruffles suitable.
A Very handsome Knot and Girdle.
A Fine Cloak and Short Apron."

I never read such a list as this without picturing the delight of little Mary Cabell when she opened the box containing all these pretty garments.

The order given by Colonel John Lewis for his young ward of eleven years old — another Virginia child — reads thus: —

"A cap, ruffle, and tucker, the lace 5*s.* per yard.
1 pair White Stays.
8 pair White kid gloves.
2 pair Colour'd kid gloves.
2 pair worsted hose.
3 pair thread hose.
1 pair silk shoes laced.
1 pair morocco shoes.
4 pair plain Spanish shoes.
2 pair calf shoes.
1 Mask.
1 Fan.
1 Necklace.
1 Girdle and Buckle.
1 Piece fashionable Calico.
4 yards Ribbon for Knots.
1 Hoop Coat.
1 Hat.
1½ Yard of Cambric.
A Mantua and Coat of Slite Lustring."

Orders for purchases were regularly despatched to a London agent by George Washington after his

marriage. In 1761 he orders a full list of garments for both his stepchildren. "Miss Custis" was only six years old. These are some of the items: —

"1 Coat made of Fashionable Silk.
A Fashionable Cap or fillet with Bib apron.
Ruffles and Tuckers, to be laced.
4 Fashionable Dresses made of Long Lawn.
2 Fine Cambrick Frocks.
A Satin Capuchin, hat, and neckatees.
A Persian Quilted Coat.
1 p. Pack Thread Stays.
4 p. Callimanco Shoes.
6 p. Leather Shoes.
2 p. Satin Shoes with flat ties.
6 p. Fine Cotton Stockings.
4 p. White Worsted Stockings.
12 p. Mitts.
6 p. White Kid Gloves.
1 p. Silver Shoe Buckles.
1 p. Neat Sleeve Buttons.
6 Handsome Egrettes Different Sorts.
6 Yards Ribbon for Egrettes.
12 Yards Coarse Green Callimanco."

A Virginia gentleman, Colonel William Fleming, kept for several years a close account of the money he spent for his little daughters, who were young misses of ten and eleven in the year 1787. The most expensive single items are bonnets, each at £4 10*s.*; an umbrella, £2 8*s.* Cloth cloaks and saddles and bridles for riding were costly items. Tamboured muslin was at that time 18*s.* a yard; durant, 3*s.* 6*d.*; lutestring, 12*s.*; calico, 6*s.* 3*d.* Scarlet

cloaks for each girl cost £2 14*s.* each. Other dress materials besides those named above were cambric, linen, cotton, osnaburgs, negro cotton, book-muslin, ermin, nankeen, persian, Turkey cotton, shalloon, and swanskin. There were many yards of taste and ribbon, black lace, and edgings, and gauze — gauze — gauze. A curious item several times appearing is a "paper bonnet," not bonnet-paper, which latter was a constant purchase on women's lists. There were pen-knives, "scanes of silk," crooked combs, morocco shoes, "nitting pins," constant "sticks of pomatum," fans, "chanes," a shawl, a tamboured coat, gloves, stockings, trunks, bands and clasps, tooth-brushes, silk gloves, necklaces, "fingered gloves," silk stockings, handkerchiefs, china teacups and saucers and silver spoons. All these show a very generous outfit.

In the year 1770 a delightful, engaging little child came to Boston from Nova Scotia to live for a time with her aunt, a Boston gentlewoman, and to attend Boston schools. For the amusement of her parents so far away, and for practice in penmanship, she kept during the years 1771 and part of 1772 a diary. She was but ten years old when she began, but her intelligence and originality make this diary a valuable record of domestic life in Boston at that date. I have had the pleasure of publishing her diary with notes under the title, *Diary of Anna Green Winslow, a Boston School Girl, in the Year 1771.* I lived so much with her while transcribing her words that she seems almost like a child of my own. Like other unusual children she died young — when but nine-

teen. She was not so gifted and wonderful and rare a creature as that star among children, Marjorie Fleming, yet she was in many ways equally interesting; she was a frank, homely little flower of New England life destined never to grow old or weary, or tired or sad, but to live forever in eternal, happy childhood, through the magic living words in the hundred pages of her time-stained diary.

She was of what Dr. Holmes called Boston Brahmin blood, was related to many of the wealthiest and best families of Boston and vicinity, and knew the best society. Dress was to her a matter of distinct importance, and her clothes were carefully fashionable. Her distress over wearing "an old red Domino" was genuine. We have in her words many references to her garments, and we find her dress very handsome. This is what she wore at a child's party: —

"I was dressed in my yellow coat, black bib & apron, black feathers on my head, my past comb & all my past garnet, marquesett & jet pins, together with my silver plume — my loket, rings, black collar round my neck, black mitts & yards of blue ribbin (black & blue is high tast), striped tucker & ruffels (not my best) & my silk shoes completed my dress."

A few days later she writes: —

"I wore my black bib & apron, my pompedore shoes, the cap my Aunt Storer since presented me with (blue ribbins on it) & a very handsome locket in the shape of a hart she gave me, the past Pin my Hon'd Papa presented me with in my cap. My new cloak & bonnet, my pompe-

dore gloves, &c. And I would tell you that *for the first time they all on lik'd my dress very much.* My cloak & bonnett are really very handsome & so they had need be. For they cost an amasing sight of money, not quite £45, tho' Aunt Suky said that she suppos'd Aunt Deming would be frighted out of her Wits at the money it cost. I have got *one* covering by the cost that is genteel & I like it much myself."

As this was in the times of depreciated values, £45 was not so large a sum to expend for a girl's outdoor garments as at first sight appears.

She gives a very exact account of her successions of head-gear, some being borrowed finery. She apparently managed to rise entirely above the hated "black hatt" and red domino, which she patronizingly said would be "Decent for Common Occations." She writes:—

"Last Thursday I purchased with my aunt Deming's leave a very beautiful white feather hat, that is the outside, which is a bit of white hollowed with the feathers sew'd on in a most curious manner; white and unsully'd as the falling snow. As I am, as we say, a Daughter of Liberty I chuse to were as much of our own manufactory as pocible. . . . My Aunt says if I behave myself very well indeed, not else, she will give me a garland of flowers to orniment it, tho' she has layd aside the biziness of flowermaking."

The dress described and portrayed of these children all seems very mature; but children were quickly grown up in colonial days. Cotton Mather wrote, "New English youth are very sharp and early ripe in their capacities." They married early; though

none of the "child-marriages" of England disfigure the pages of our history. Sturdy Endicott would not permit the marriage of his ward, Rebecca Cooper, an "inheritrice," — though Governor Winthrop wished her for his nephew, — because the girl was but fifteen. I am surprised at this, for marriages at fifteen were common enough. My far-away grandmother, Mary Burnet, married William Browne, when she was fourteen; another grandmother, Mary Philips, married her cousin at thirteen, and there is every evidence that the match was arranged with little heed of the girl's wishes. It was the happiest of marriages. Boys became men by law when sixteen. Winthrop named his son as executor of his will when the boy was fourteen — but there were few boys like that boy. We find that the Virginia tutor who taught in the Carter family just previous to the war of the Revolution deemed a young lady of thirteen no longer a child.

Miss Lydia Robinson, aged 12 Years, Daughter of Colonel James Robinson. Marked "Corné pinxt, Sept. 1805."

"Miss Betsy Lee is about thirteen, a tall, slim, genteel girl. She is very far from Miss Hale's taciturnity, yet is

by no means disagreeably Forward. She dances extremely well, and is just beginning to play the Spinet. She is dressed in a neat Shell Callico Gown, has very light Hair done up with a Feather, and her whole carriage is Inoffensive, Easy and Graceful."

The christening of an infant was not only a sacrament of the church, and thus of highest importance, but it was also of secular note. It was a time of great rejoicing, of good wishes, of gift-making. In mediæval times, the child was arrayed by the priest in a white robe which had been anointed with sacred oil, and called a chrismale, or a chrisom. If the child died within a month, it was buried in this robe and called a chrisom-child. The robe was also called a christening palm or pall. When the custom of redressing the child in a robe at the altar had passed away, the christening palm still was used and was thrown over the child when it was brought out to receive visitors. This robe was also termed a bearing-cloth, a christening sheet, and a cade-cloth.

This fine coverlet of state, what we would now call a christening blanket, was usually made of silk; often it was richly embroidered, sometimes with a text of Scripture. It was generally lace-bordered, or edged with a narrow, home-woven silk fringe. The christening-blanket of Governor Bradford of the Plymouth Colony still is owned by a descendant; it is whole of fabric and unfaded of dye. It is rich crimson silk, soft of texture, like heavy sarcenet silk, and is powdered at regular distances about six inches apart with conventional sprays of flowers, embroid-

ered chiefly in pink and yellow, in minute silk cross-stitch. Another beautiful silk christening blanket was quilted in an intricate flower pattern in almost imperceptible stitches. Another of yellow satin has a design in white floss that gives it the appearance of being trimmed with white silk lace. Best of all was to embroider the cloth with designs and initials and emblems and biblical references. A coat-of-arms or crest was very elegant. The words, "God Bless the Babe," were not left wholly to the pincushions which every babe had given him or her, but appeared on the christening blanket. A curious design shown me was called *The Tree of Knowledge*. The figure of a child in cap, apron, bib, and hanging sleeves stands pointing to a tree upon which grew books as though they were apples. The open pages of each book-apple is printed with a title, as, *The New England Primer*, *Lilly's Grammar*, *Janeway's Holy Children*, *The Prodigal Daughter*.

An inventory of the christening garments of a child in the seventeenth century reads thus: —

"1. A lined white figured satin cap.

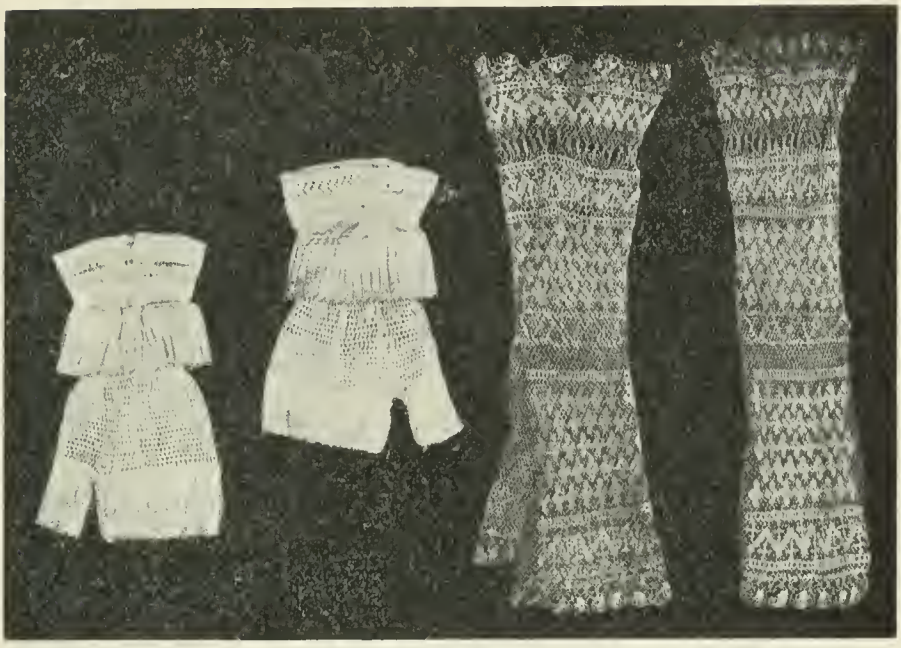
2. A lined white satin cap embroidered in sprays with gold coloured silk.

3. A white satin palm embroidered in sprays of yellow silk to match. This is 44 inches by 34 inches in size.

4. A palm of rich 'still yellow' silk lined with white satin. This is 54 inches by 48 inches in size.

5. A pair of deep cuffs of white satin, lace trimmed and embroidered.

6. A pair of linen mittens trimmed with narrow lace, the back of the fingers outlined with yellow silk figures."



Knitted Flaxen Mittens.

The satin cuffs were for the wear of the older person who carried the child. The infant was placed upon the larger palm or cloth, and the smaller one thrown over him, over his petticoats. The inner cap was very tight to the head. The outer was embroidered; often it turned back in a band.

There was a significance in the use of yellow; it is the altar color for certain church festivals, and was proper for the pledging of the child.

All these formalities of christening in the Church of England were not abandoned by the Separatists. New England children were just as carefully christened and dressed for christening as any child in the Church of England. In the reign of James I tiny shirts with little bands or sleeves or cuffs wrought in

silk or in coventry-blue thread were added to the gift of spoons from the sponsors. I have one of these little coventry-blue embroidered things with quaint little sleeves; too faded, I regret, to reveal any pattern to the camera.

The christening shirts and mittens given by the sponsors are said to be a relic of the ancient custom of presenting white clothes to the neophytes when converted to Christianity. These "Christening Sets" are preserved in many families.

Of the dress of infants of colonial times we can judge from the articles of clothing which have been preserved till this day. These are of course the better garments worn by babies, not their everyday dress; their simpler attire has not survived, but their christening robes, their finer shirts and petticoats and caps remain.

Linen formed the chilling substructure of their dress, thin linen, low-necked, short-sleeved shirts; and linen remained the underwear of infants until thirty years ago. I do not wonder that these little linen shirts were worn for centuries. They are infinitely daintier than the finest silk or woollen underwear that have succeeded them; they are edged with narrowest thread lace, and hemstitched with tiny rows of stitches or corded with tiny cords, and sometimes embroidered by hand in minute designs. They were worn by all babies from the time of James I, never varying one stitch in shape; but I fear this pretty garment of which our infants were bereft a few years ago will never crowd out the warm, present-day silk wear. This wholly infantile article of childish dress

Mrs. Elizabeth Lux Russell and Daughter.

had tiny little revers or collarettes or laps made to turn over outside the robe or slip like a minute bib, and these laps were beautifully oversewn where the corners joined the shirt, to prevent tearing down at this seam. These tiny shirts were the dearest little garments ever made or dreamed of. When a baby had on a fresh, corded slip, low of neck, with short, puffed sleeve, and the tiny hemstitched laps were turned down outside the neck of the slip, and the little sleeves were caught up by fine strings of gold-clasped pink coral, the baby's dimpled shoulders and round head rose up out of the little shirt-laps like some darling flower.

I have seen an infant's shirt and a cap embroidered on the laps with the coat-of-arms of the Lux and Johnson families and the motto, "God Bless the Babe;" these delicate garments, the work of fairies, were worn in infancy by the Revolutionary soldier, Governor Johnson of Virginia.

In the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, are the baptismal shirt and mittens of the Pilgrim father, William Bradford, second governor of the Plymouth colony, who was born in 1590. They are shown on page 306. All are of firm, close-woven, homespun linen, but the little mittens have been worn at the ends by the active friction of baby hands, and are patched with red and yellow figured "chiney" or calico. A similar colored material frills the sleeves and neck. This may have been part of their ornamentation when first made, but it looks extraneous.

The sleeves of this shirt are plaited or goffered in a way that seems wholly lost; this is what I have

already described — *pinching*. I have seen the sleeve of a child's dress thus pinched which had been worn by a little girl aged three. The wrist-cuff measured about five inches around, and was stoutly corded. Upon ripping the sleeve apart, it was found that the strip of fine mull which was thus pinched into the sleeve was two yards in length. The cuff flared

Christening Shirt and Mitts of Governor Bradford.

slightly, else even this length of sheer lawn could not have been confined at the wrist. In the so-called "Museum," gloomily scattered around the famous old South Church edifice in Boston, are fine examples of this pinched work.

Many of the finest existing specimens of old guipure, Flanders, and needlepoint laces in England and America are preserved on the ancient shirts, mitts, caps, and bearing-cloths of infants. Often there is

a little padded bib of guipure lace accompanied with tiny mittens like these.

This pair was wrought and worn in the sixteenth century, and the stitches and work are those of the Flanders point laces. I have seen tiny mitts knitted of silk, of fine linen thread, also made of linen, hem-stitched, or worked in drawn-work, or embroidered, and one pair of mittens, and the cap that matched was of tatting-work done in the finest of thread. No needlepoint could be more beautiful. Some are shown on page 303.

Flanders Lace Mitts.

Mitts of yellow nankeen or silk, made with long wrists or arms, were also worn by babies, and must have proved specially irritating to tiny little hands and arms. These had the seams sewed over and over with colored silks in a curiously intricate netted stitch.

I have an infant's cap with two squares of lace set in the crown, one over each ear. The lace is of a curious design; a conventionalized vase or urn on a standard. I recognize it as the lace and pattern known as "pot-lace," made for centuries at Antwerp, and worn there by old women on their caps with a

devotion to a single pattern that is unparalleled. It was the "flower-pot" symbol of the Annunciation. The earliest representation of the Angel Gabriel in the Annunciation showed him with lilies in his hand; then these lilies were set in a vase. In years the angel has disappeared and then the lilies, and the lily-pot only remains. It is a whimsical fancy that this symbol of Romanism should have been carefully transferred to adorn the pate of a child of the Puritans. The place of the medallion, set over each ear, is so unusual that I think it must have had some significance. I wonder whether they were ever set thus in caps of heavy silk or linen to let the child hear more readily, as he certainly would through the thin lace net.

The word "beguine" meant a nun; and thus derivatively a nun's close cap. This was altered in spelling to biggin, and for a time a nun's plain linen cap was thus called. By Shakespere's day biggin had become wholly a term for a child's cap. It was a plain phrase and a plain cap of linen. Shakespere calls them "homely biggens."

I have seen it stated that the biggin was a night-cap. When Queen Elizabeth lost her mother, Anne Boleyn, she was but three years old, a neglected little creature. A lady of the court wrote that the child had "no manner of linen, nor forsmocks, nor kerchiefs, nor rails, nor body-stitches, nor handkerchiefs, nor sleeves, nor mufflers, nor biggins."

In 1636 Mary Dudley, the daughter of Governor John Winthrop, had a little baby. She did not live

in Boston town, therefore her mother had to purchase supplies for her; and many letters crossed, telling of wants, and their relief. "Holland for biggins" was eagerly sought. At that date all babies wore caps. I mean English and French, Dutch and Spanish, all mothers deemed it unwise and almost improper for a young baby ever to be seen bareheaded. With the imperfect heating and many draughts in all the houses, this mode of dress may have been wholly wise and indeed necessary. Every child's head was covered, as the pictures of children in this book show, until he or she was several years old. The finest needlework and lace stitches were lavished on these tiny infants' caps, which were not, when thus adorned and ornamented, called biggins.

Infant's Adjustable Cap.

A favorite trimming for nightcaps and infants' caps is a sort of quilting in a leaf and vine pattern, done with a white cord inserted between outer and inner pieces of linen — a cord stuffing, as it were. It does not seem oversuited for caps to be worn in bed or by little infants, as the stiff cords must prove a disagreeable cushion. This work was done as early as the seventeenth century; but nearly all the pieces preserved were made in the early years of the nineteenth century in the revival of needlework then so universal.

Often a velvet cap was worn outside the biggin or lace cap.

I have never seen a woollen petticoat that was worn by an infant of pre-Revolutionary days. I think infants had no woollen petticoats; their shirts, petticoats, and gowns were of linen or some cotton stuff like dimity. Warmth of clothing was given by tiny shawls pinned round the shoulders, and heavier blankets and quilts and shawls in which baby and petticoats were wholly enveloped.

The baby dresses of olden times are either rather shapeless sacques drawn in at the neck with narrow cotton ferret or linen bobbin, or little straight-waisted gowns of state. All were exquisitely made by hand, and usually of fine stuff. Many are trimmed with fine cording.

It is astounding to note the infinite number of stitches put in garments. An infant's slips quilted with a single tiny backstitch in a regular design of interlaced squares, stars, and rounds. By counting the number of rounds and the stitches in each, and so on, it has been found that there are 397,000 stitches in that dress. Think of the time spent even by the quickest sewer over such a piece of work.

Within a few years we have shortened the long clothes worn by youngest infants; twenty-five years ago the handsome dress of an infant, such as the christening-robe, was so long that when the child was held on the arm of its standing nurse or mother, the edge of the robe barely escaped touching the ground. Two hundred years ago, a baby's dress was

much shorter. In the family group of Charles I and Henrietta Maria and their children, in the Copley family picture, and in the picture of the Cadwalader family, we find the little baby in scarce "three-quarters length" of robe. With this exception it is astonishing to find how little infants' dress has changed during the two centuries. In 1889, at the Stuart Exhibition, some of the infant dresses of Charles I were shown. They had been preserved in the family of Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper. And Charles II's baby linen was on view in the New Gallery in 1901. Both sets had the dainty little shirts, slips, bibs, mitts, and all the babies' dress of fifty years ago, and the changes since then have been few. The "barrow-coat," a square of flannel wrapped around an infant's body below the arms with the part below the feet turned up and pinned, was part of the old swaddling-clothes; and within ten years it has been largely abandoned for a flannel petticoat on a band or waist. The bands, or binders, have always been the same as to-day, and the bibs. The lace cuffs and lace mittens were left off before the caps. The shirt is the most important change.

Nowadays a little infant wears long clothes till three, four, or even eight months old; then he is put in short dresses about as long as he is. In colonial days when a boy was taken from his swaddling-clothes, he was dressed in a short frock with petticoats and was "coated" or sometimes "short-coated." When he left off coats, he donned breeches. In families of sentiment and affection, the "coating" of a boy was made a little festival. So was also the

assumption of breeches an important event — as it really is, as we all know who have boys.

One of the most charming of all grandmothers' letters was written by a doting English grandmother to her son, Lord Chief Justice North, telling of the "leaving off of coats" of his motherless little son, Francis Guilford, then six years old. The letter is dated October 10, 1679: —

"Dear Son: You cannot beleeve the great concerne that was in the whole family here last Wednesday, it being the day that the taylor was to helpe to dress little ffrank in his breeches in order to the making an everyday suit by it. Never had any bride that was to be drest upon her weding night more handes about her, some the legs, some the armes, the taylor butt'ning, and others putting on the sword, and so many lookers on that had I not a ffinger amongst I could not have seen him. When he was quite drest he acted his part as well as any of them for he desired he might goe downe to inquire for the little gentleman that was there the day before in a black coat, and speak to the man to tell the gentleman when he came from school that there was a gallant with very fine clothes and a sword to have waited upon him and would come again upon Sunday next. But this was not all, there was great contrivings while he was dressing who should have the first salute; but he sayd if old Joan had been here, she should, but he gave it to me to quiett them all. They were very fitt, everything, and he looks taller and prettyer than in his coats. Little Charles rejoyced as much as he did for he jumpt all the while about him and took notice of everything. I went to Bury, and bot everything for another suitt which will be finisht on Saturday so the coats are to be quite left off on Sunday. I consider it is not yett terme time and since you could not

have the pleasure of the first sight, I resolved you should have a full relation from

"Yor most Affnate Mother

"A. North.

"When he was drest he asked Buckle whether muffs were out of fashion because they had not sent him one."

This affectionate letter, written to a great and busy statesman, the Lord Keeper of the Seals, shows how pure and delightful domestic life in England could be; it shows how beautiful it was after Puritanism perfected the English home.

In an old family letter dated 1780 I find this sentence: —

"Mary is most wise with her child, and hath no newfangledness. She has little David in what she wore herself, a pudding and pinner."

For a time these words "pudding and pinner" were a puzzle; and long after pinner was defined we could not even guess at a pudding. But now I know two uses of the word "pudding" which are in no dictionary. One is the stuffing of a man's great neck-cloth in front, under the chin. The other is a thick roll or cushion stuffed with wool or some soft filling and furnished with strings. This pudding was tied round the head of a little child while it was learning to walk. The head was thus protected from serious bruises or injury. Nollekens noted with satisfaction such a pudding on the head of an infant, and said: "That is right. I always wore a pudding, and all children should." I saw one upon a child's head last summer in a New Eng-

land town; I asked the mother what it was, and she answered, "A pudding-cap"; that it made children soft (idiotic) to bump the head frequently.

The word "pinner" has two meanings. The earlier use was precisely that of pinafore, or pincurtle, or pincloth — a child's apron. Thus we read in the Harvard College records, of the expenses of the year 1677, of "Linnen Cloth for Table Pinners," which makes us suspect that Harvard students of that day had to wear bibs at commons.

All children wore aprons, which might be called pinners; these were aprons with pinned-up bibs; or they might be tiers, which were sleeved aprons covering the whole waist, sleeves, and skirt, an outer slip, buttoned in the back.

A severe and ancient moralist looked forth from her window in Worcester, one day last spring, at a band of New England children running to their morning school. She gazed over her glasses reprovingly, and turned to me with bitterness: "There they go! *Such* mothers as they must have! Not a pinner nor a sleeved tier among 'em."

The sleeved tier occupied a singular place in childish opinion in my youth; and I find the same feeling anent it had existed for many generations. It was hated by all children, regarded as something to be escaped from at the earliest possible date. You had to wear sleeved tiers as you had to have the mumps. It was a thing to endure with what childish patience and fortitude you could command for a short time; but thoughtful, tender parents would not make you suffer it long.

There were aprons, and aprons. Pinners and tiers were for use, but there were elegant aprons for ornament. Did not Queen Anne wear one? Even babies wore them. The little Padishal child has one richly laced. I have seen a beautiful apron for a little child of three. It was edged with a straight insertion of Venetian point like that pictured on page 64. It had been made in 1690. Tender affection for a beloved and beautiful little child preserved it in one trunk in the same attic for sixty-five years; and a beautiful sympathy for that mother's long sorrow kept the apron untouched by young lace-lovers. This lace has white horsehair woven into the edge.

We find George Washington ordering for his little stepdaughter (a well-dressed child if ever there was one), when she was six years old, "A fashionable cap or fillet with bib apron." And a few years later he orders, "Tuckers, Bibs, and Aprons if Fashionable." Boys wore aprons as long as they wore coats; aprons with stomachers or bibs of drawn-work and lace, or of stiffly starched lawn; aprons just like those of their sisters. It was hard to bear. Hoop-coat, masks, packthread stays — these seem strange dress for growing girls.

George Washington sent abroad for masks for his wife and his little stepdaughter, "Miss Custis," when the little girl was six years old; and "children's masks" are often named in bills of sale. Loo-masks were small half-masks, and were also imported in all sizes.

The face of Mrs. Madison, familiarly known as "Dolly Madison," wife of President James Madi-

son, long retained the beauty of youth. Much of this was surely due to a faithful mother, who, when little Dolly Payne was sent to school, sewed a sunbonnet on the child's head every morning, placed on her arms and hands long gloves, and made her wear a mask to keep every ray of sunlight from her face. When masks were so universally worn by women, it is not strange, after all, that children wore them.

Rev. J. P. Dabney when a Child.

I read with horror an advertisement of John McQueen, a New York stay-maker in 1767, that he has children's packthread stays, children's bone stays, and "neat polished steel collars for young Misses so much worn at the boarding schools in London." Poor little "young Misses"!

There were also "turned stays, jumps, gazzets, costrells and caushets" (which were perhaps corsets) to make children appear straight. Costrells and gazzets we know not to-day. Jumps were feeble stays.

> "Now a shape in neat stays
> Now a slattern in jumps."

Jumps were allied to jimps, and perhaps to jupe; and I think jumper is a cousin of a word. One pair of stays I have seen is labelled as having been made for a boy of five. One of the worst instruments of torture I ever beheld was a pair of child's stays worn in 1760. They were made, not of little strips

Robert Gibbes.

of wood, but of a large piece of board, front and back, tightly sewed into a buckram jacket and reënforced across at right angles and diagonally over the hips (though really there were no hip-places) with bars of whalebone and steel. The tin corsets I have heard of would not have been half as ill to wear. It is true, too, that needles were placed in the front of the stays, that the stay-wearer who "poked her head" would be well pricked. The daughter of General Nathanael Greene, the Revolutionary patriot, told her grandchildren that she sat many hours every day in her girlhood, with her feet in stocks and strapped to a backboard. A friend has a chair of ordinary size, save that the seat is about four inches wide from the front edge of seat to the back. And the back is well worn at certain points where a heavy leather strap strapped up the young girl who was tortured in it for six years of her life. The result of back board, stocks, steel collar, wooden stays, is shown in such figures as have Dorothy Q. and her sister Elizabeth. Elizabeth Storer, on page 98 of my *Child Life in Colonial Days*, is an extreme example, straight-backed indeed, but narrow-chested to match.

Dr. Holmes wrote in jest, but he wrote in truth, too: —

"They braced My Aunt against a board
To make her straight and tall,
They laced her up, they starved her down,
To make her light and small.
They pinched her feet, they singed her hair,
They screwed it up with pins,
Oh, never mortal suffered more
In penance for her sins."

Nankeen was the favorite wear for boys, even before the Revolution. The little figure of the boy who became Lord Lyndhurst, shown in the Copley family portrait, is dressed in nankeen; he is the engaging, loving child looking up in his mother's face. Nankeen was worn summer and winter by men, and women, and children. If it were deemed too thin and too damp a wear for delicate children in extreme winters, then a yellow color in wool was preferred for children's dress. I have seen a little pair of breeches of yellow flannel made precisely like these nankeen breeches on this page. They were worn in 1768.

Nankeen Breeches with Silver Buttons.

Carlyle in his *Sartor Resartus* gives this account of the childhood of the professor and philosopher of his book: —

"My first short clothes were of yellow serge; or rather, I should say, my first short cloth; for the vesture was one and indivisible, reaching from neck to ankle; a single body with four limbs; of which fashion how little could I then divine the architectural, much less the moral significance."

It is a curious coincidence that a great philosopher of our own world wore a precisely similar dress in his youth. Madam Mary Bradford writes in a private letter, at the age of one hundred and three, of her life in 1805 in the household of Rev. Joseph Emerson. Ralph Waldo Emerson was then a little

child of two years, and he and his brother William till several years old were dressed wholly in yellow flannel, by night and by day. When they put on trousers, which was at about the age of seven, they

Ralph Izard when a Little Boy. 1750.

wore complete home-made suits of nankeen. The picture amuses me of the philosophical child, Ralph Waldo, walking soberly around in ugly yellow flannel, contentedly sucking his thumb; for Mrs. Bradford records that he was the hardest child to break

of sucking his thumb whom she ever had seen during her long life. I cannot help wondering whether in their soul-to-soul talks Emerson ever told Carlyle of the yellow woollen dress of his childhood, and thus gave him the thought of the child's dress for his philosopher.

Fortunately for the children who were our grandparents, French fashions were not absorbingly the rage in America until after some amelioration of dress had come to French children. Mercier wrote at length at the close of the eighteenth century of the abominable artificiality and restraint in dress of French children; their great wigs, full-skirted coats, immense ruffles, swords on thigh, and hat in hand. He contrasts them disparagingly with English boys. The English boy was certainly more robust, but I find no difference in dress. Wigs, swords, ruffles, may be seen at that time both in English and American portraits. But an amelioration of dress did come to both English and American boys through the introduction of pantaloons, and a change to little girls' dress through the invention of pantalets, but the changes came first to France, in spite of Mercier's animadversions. These changes will be left until the later pages of this book; for during nearly all the two hundred years of which I write children's dress varied little. It followed the changes of the parent's dress, and adopted some modes to a degree but never to an extreme.

# CHAPTER XI

## PERUKES AND PERIWIGS

"*As to a Periwigg, my best and Greatest Friend begun to find me with Hair before I was Born, and has continued to do so ever since, and I could not find it in my Heart to go to another.*"

— "Diary," JUDGE SAMUEL SEWALL, 1718.

*A phrensy or a periwigmanee*
*That over-runs his pericranie.*

— JOHN BYRON, 1730 (circa).

# CHAPTER XI

## PERUKES AND PERIWIGS

TO-DAY, when every man, save a football player or some eccentric reformer or religious fanatic, displays in youth a close-cropped head, and when even hoary age is seldom graced with flowing, silvery locks, when women's hair is dressed in simplicity, we can scarcely realize the important and formal part the hair played in the dress of the eighteenth century.

In the great eagerness shown from earliest colonial days to acquire and reproduce in the New World every change of mode in the Old, to purchase rich dress, and to assume novel dress, no article was sought for more speedily and more anxiously than the wig. It has proved an interesting study to compare the introduction of wigs in England with the wear of the same form of head-gear in America. Wigs were not in general use in England when Plymouth and Boston were settled; though in Elizabeth's day a "peryuke" had been bought for the court fool. They were not in universal wear till the close of the seventeenth century.

The "Wig Mania" arose in France in the reign of Louis XV. In 1656 the king had forty court

perruquiers, who were termed and deemed artists, and had their academy. The wigs they produced were superb. It is told that one cost £200, a sum equal in purchasing power to-day to $5000. The French statesman and financier, Colbert, aghast at the vast sums spent for foreign hair, endeavored to introduce a sort of cap to supplant the wig, but fashions are not made that way.

Governor and Reverend Gurdon Saltonstall.

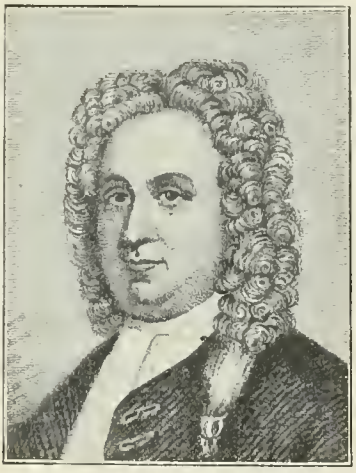
For information of English manners and customs in that day, I turn (and never in vain) to those fascinating volumes, the *Verney Memoirs*. From them I learn this of early wig-wearing by Englishmen; that Sir Ralph Verney, though in straitened circumstances during his enforced residence abroad, felt himself compelled to follow the French mode, which at that period, 1646, had not reached England. That exemplary gentleman paid twelve livres for a wig, when he was sadly short of money for household necessaries. It was an elaborate wig, curled in great rings, with two locks tied with black ribbon, and made without any parting at the back. This wig was powdered.

Sir Ralph wrote to his wife that a good hair-powder was very difficult to get and costly, even in France. It was an appreciable addition to the weight of the

wig and to the expense, large quantities being used, sometimes as much as two pounds at a time. It added not only to the expense, but to the discomfort, inconvenience, and untidiness of wig-wearing.

Pomatum made of fat, and that sometimes rancid, was used to make the powder stick; and noxious substances were introduced into the powder, as a certain kind is mentioned which must not be used alone, for it would produce headache.

Charles II was the earliest king represented on the Great Seal wearing a large periwig. Dr. Doran assures us that the king did not bring the fashion to Whitehall. "He forbade," we are told, "the members of the Universities to wear periwigs, smoke tobacco, or read their sermons. The members did all three, and Charles soon found himself doing the first two."



Mayor Rip Van Dam.

Pepys's *Diary* contains much interesting information concerning the wigs of this reign. On 2d of November, 1663, he writes: "I heard the Duke say that he was going to wear a periwig, and says the King also will. I never till this day observed that the King is mighty gray." It was doubtless this change in the color of his Majesty's hair that induced him to assume the head-dress he had previously so strongly condemned.

The wig he adopted was very voluminous, richly

curled, and black. He was very dark. "Odds fish! but I'm an ugly black fellow!" he said of himself when he looked at his portrait. Loyal colonists quickly followed royal example and complexion. We have very good specimens of this curly black wig in many American portraits.

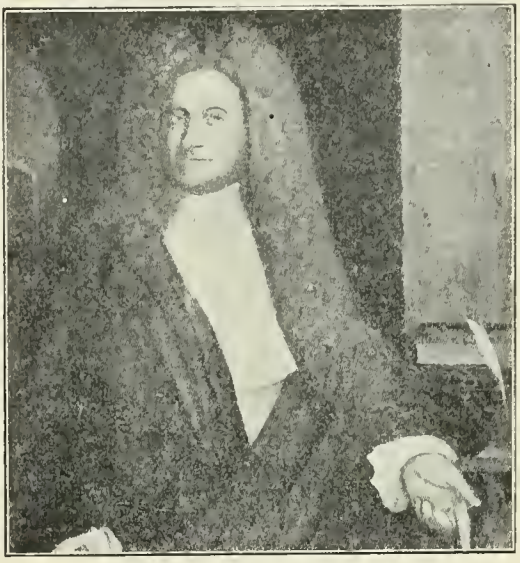
As might be expected, and as befitted one who delighted to be in fashion, Pepys adopted this wig. He took time to consider the matter, and had consultations with Mr. Jervas, his old barber, about the affair. Referring to one of his visits to his hairdresser, Pepys says: —

"I did try two or three borders and periwigs, meaning to wear one, and yet I have no stomach for it; but that the pains of keeping my hair clean is great. He trimmed me, and at last I parted, but my mind was almost altered from my first purpose, from the trouble which I foresee in wearing them also."

Weeks passed before he could make up his mind to wear a wig. Mrs. Pepys was taken to the periwig-maker's shop to see one, and expressed her satisfaction with it. We read in April, 1665, of the wig being back at Jervas's under repair. Later, under date of September 3d, he writes: —

"Lord's day. Up; and put on my coloured silk suit, very fine, and my new periwig, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it; and it is a wonder what will be in fashion, after the plague is done, as to periwigs, for nobody will dare to buy any hair, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague."

In 1670, only five years after this entry of Pepys, we find Governor Barefoot of New Hampshire wearing a periwig; and in 1675 the court of Massachusetts, in view of the distresses of the Indian wars, denounced the "manifest pride openly appearing amongst us in that long hair, like women's hair is worn by some men, either their own hair, or others' hair made into periwigs."



Abraham De Peyster.

In 1676 Wait Winthrop sent a wig (price £3) to his brother in New London. Mr. Sergeant had brought it from England for his own use; but was willing to sell it to oblige a friend, who was, I am confident, very devoted to wig-wearing. The largest wig that I recall upon any colonist's head is in the portrait of Governor Fitz-John Winthrop. He is painted in armor; and a great wig never seems so absurd as when worn with armor. Horace Walpole said, "Perukes of outrageous length flowing over suits of armour compose wonderful habits." An edge of Winthrop's own dark hair seems to show under the wig front. I do not know the precise date of this portrait. It was, of course, painted in England. He served in the

Parliamentary army with General Monck; returned to New England in 1663, and was commander of the New England forces. He spent 1693 to 1697 in England as commissioner. Sir Peter Lely and Sir Godfrey Kneller both were painting in England in those years, and both were constant in painting men with armor and perukes. This portrait seems like Kneller's work.

Governor De Bienville.

Another portrait attired also in armor and peruke is of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who was appointed governor of South Carolina by the Lords Proprietors in 1702. The portrait was painted in 1705. It is one of the few of that date which show a faint mustache; he likewise wears a seal ring with coat-of-arms on the little finger of his left hand, which was unusual at that day. De Bienville, the governor of Louisiana, is likewise in wig and armor. In 1682 Thomas Richbell died in Boston, leaving a very rich and costly wardrobe. He had eight wigs. Of these, three were small periwigs worth but a pound apiece. In New York, in Virginia, in all the colonies, these wigs were worn, and were just as large and costly, as elaborately curled,

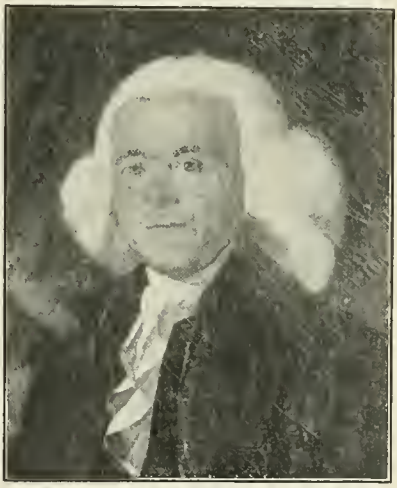
as heavily powdered, as at the English and French courts.

Archbishop Tillotson is usually regarded as the first amongst the English clergy to adopt the wig. He said in one of his sermons: —

"I can remember since the wearing of hair below the ears was looked upon as a sin of the first magnitude, and when ministers generally, whatever their text was, did either find or make occasion to reprove the great sin of long hair; and if they saw any one in the congregation guilty in that kind, they would point him out particularly, and let fly at him with great zeal."

Dr. Tillotson died on November 24, 1694.

Long before that American preachers had felt it necessary to "let fly" also; to denounce wig-wearing from their pulpits. The question could not be settled, since the ministers themselves could not agree. John Wilson, the zealous Boston minister, wore one, and John Cotton (see page 42); while Rev. Mr. Noyes preached long and often against the fashion. John Eliot, the noble preacher and missionary to the Indians, found time even in the midst of his arduous and incessant duties to deliver many à blast against "prolix locks," — "with boiling zeal," as



Daniel Waldo.

Cotton Mather said, — and he labelled them a "luxurious feminine protexity"; but lamented late in life that "the lust for wigs is become insuperable." He thought the horrors in King Philip's War were a direct punishment from God for wig-wearing. Increase Mather preached warmly against wigs, calling them "Horrid Bushes of Vanity," and saying that "such Apparel is contrary to the light of Nature, and to express Scripture," and that "Monstrous Periwigs such as some of our church members indulge in make them resemble ye locusts that came out of ye Bottomless Pit."

Rev. George Weeks preached a sermon on impropriety in clothes. He said in regard to wig-wearing: —

"We have no warrant in the word of God, that I know of, for our wearing of Periwigs except it be in extraordinary cases. Elisha did not cover his head with a Perriwigg altho' it was bald. To see the greater part of Men in some congregations wearing Perriwiggs is a matter of deep lamentation. For either all these men had a necessity to cut off their Hair or else not. If they had a necessity to cut off their Hair then we have reason to take up a lamentation over the sin of our first Parents which hath occasioned so many Persons in our Congregation to be sickly, weakly, crazy Persons."

Long "Ruffianly" or "Russianly" (I know not which word is right) hair equally worried the parsons. President Chauncey of Harvard College preached upon it, for the college undergraduates were vexingly addicted to prolix locks. Rev. Mr. Wigglesworth's sermon on the subject has often been

reprinted, and is full of logical arguments. This offence was named on the list of existing evils which was made by the general court: that "the men wore long hair like women's hair." Still, the Puritan magistrates, omnipotent as they were in small things, did not dare to force the becurled citizens of the little towns to cut their long love-locks, though they bribed them to do so. A Salem man was, in 1687, fined 10*s.* for a misdemeanor, but "in case he shall cutt off his long har of his head into a sevill (civil?) frame, in the mean time shall have abated 5*s.* of his fine." John Eliot hated long, natural hair as well as false hair. Rev. Cotton Mather said of him, in a very unpleasant figure of speech, "The hair of them that professed religion grew too long for him to swallow." His own hair curled on his shoulders, and would seem long to us to-day.

Reverend John Marsh.

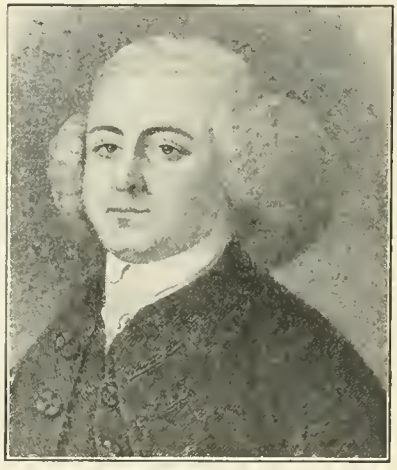
A climax of wig-hating was reached by one who has been styled "The Last of the Puritans" — Judge Samuel Sewall of Boston. Constant references in his diary show how this hatred influenced his daily life. He despised wigs so long and so deeply, he thought and talked and prayed upon them, until they became to him of undue importance; they became godless emblems of iniquity; an unutterable snare and peril.

We find Sewall copying with evident approval a

"scandalous bill" which had been "posted" on the church in Plymouth in 1701. In this a few lines ran: —

"Our churches are too genteel.
Parsons grow trim and trigg
With wealth, wine, and wigg,
And their crowns are covered with meal."

Bitter must have been his efforts to reconcile to his conscience the sight of wigs upon the heads of his parson friends, worn boldly in the pulpit. He would refrain from attending a church where the parson wore a wig; and his italicized praise of a dead friend was that he "was a true New-English man and *abominated periwigs*." A Boston wig-maker died a drunkard, and Sewall took much melancholy satisfaction in dilating upon it.



John Adams in Youth.

Cotton Mather and Sewall had many pious differences and personal jealousies. The parson was a handsome man (see his picture facing page 42), and he was a harmlessly and naïvely vain man. He quickly adopted a "great bush of vanity" — and a very personable appearance he makes in it. Soon we find him inveighing at length in the pulpit against "those who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel, those who were zealous against an innocent fashion taken up and used by the best of men." "'Tis sup-

posed he means wearing a Perriwigg," writes Sewall after this sermon; "I expected not to hear a vindication of Perriwiggs in Boston pulpit by Mr. Mather."

Poor Sewall! his regard of wigs had a severe test when he wooed Madam Winthrop late in life. She was a rich widow. He had courted her vainly for a second wife. And now he "yearned for her deeply" for a third wife, so he wrote. And ere she would consent or even discuss marriage she stipulated two things: one, that he keep a coach; the other, that he wear a periwig. When all the men of dignity and office in the colony were bourgeoning out in great flowing perukes, she was naturally a bit averse to an elderly lover in a skullcap or, as he often wore, a hood. His love did not make him waver; he stoutly persisted in his refusal to assume a periwig.

His portrait in a velvet skullcap shows a fringe of white curling hair with a few forehead locks. I fancy he was bald. Here is his entry with regard to young Parson Willard's wig, in the year 1701:—

"Having last night heard that Josiah Willard had cut off his hair (a very full head of hair) and put on a wig, I went to him this morning. When I told his mother what I came about, she called him. Whereupon I inquired of him what extreme need had forced him to put off his own hair and put on a wig? He answered, none at all; he said that his hair was straight, and that it parted behind.

"He seemed to argue that men might as well shave their hair off their head, as off their face. I answered that boys grew to be men before they had hair on their faces, and that half of mankind never have any beards. I told him that

God seems to have created our hair as a test, to see whether we can bring our minds to be content at what he gives us, or whether we would be our own carvers and come back to him for nothing more. We might dislike our skin or nails, as he disliked his hair; but in our case no thanks are due to us that we cut them not off; for pain and danger restrain us. Your duty, said I, is to teach men self-denial. I told him, further, that it would be displeasing and burdensome to good men for him to wear a wig, and they that care not what men think of them, care not what God thinks of them.

Jonathan Edwards, 2nd.

"I told him that he must remember that wigs were condemned by a meeting of ministers at Northampton. I told him of the solemnity of the covenant which he and I had lately entered into, which put upon me the duty of discoursing to him.

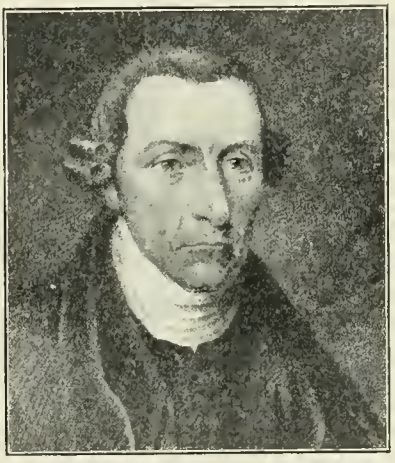
"He seemed to say that he would leave off his wig when his hair was grown again. I spoke to his father of it a day or two afterwards and he thanked me for reasoning with his son.

"He told me his son had promised to leave off his wig when his hair was grown to cover his ears. If the father had known of it, he would have forbidden him to cut off his hair. His mother heard him talk of it, but was afraid to forbid him for fear he should do it in spite of her, and so be more faulty than if she had let him go his own way."

Soon nearly every parson in England and every colony wore wigs. John Wesley alone wore what seems to be his own white hair curled under softly

at the ends. Whitfield is in a portentous wig like the one on Dr. Marsh (page 331).

In the time of Queen Anne, wigs had multiplied vastly in variety as they had increased in size. I have been asked the difference between a peruke and a wig. Of course both, and the periwig, are simply wigs; but the term "peruke" is in general applied to a formal, richly curled wig; and the word "periwig" also conveys the distinction of a formal wig. Of less dignity were riding-wigs, nightcap wigs, and bag-wigs. Bag-wigs are said to have had their origin among French servants, who tied up their hair in a black leather bag as a speedy way of dressing it, and to keep it out of the way when at other and disordering duties.



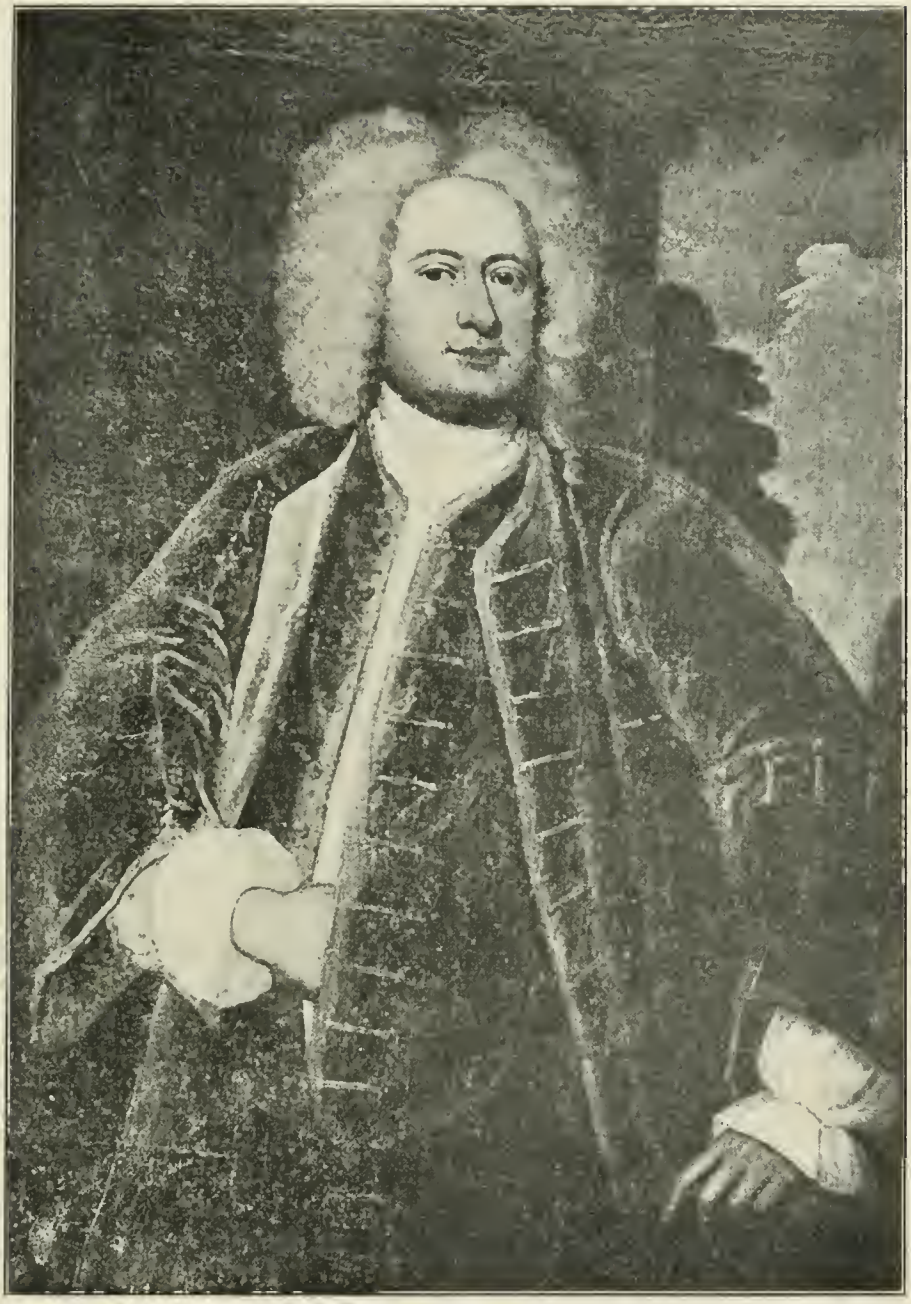
Patrick Henry.

In May, 1706, the English, led by Marlborough, gained a great victory on the battle-field of Ramillies, and that gave the title to a new wig described as "having a long, gradually diminishing, plaited tail, called the 'Ramillie-tail,' which was tied with a great bow at the top and a smaller one at the bottom." The hair also bushed out at both sides of the face. The Ramillies wig shown in Hogarth's *Modern Midnight Conversation* hanging against the wall, is reproduced on page 340. This wig was not at first deemed full-dress. Queen Anne was deeply

offended because Lord Bolingbroke, summoned hurriedly to her, appeared in a Ramillies wig instead of a full-bottomed peruke. The queen remarked that she supposed next time Lord Bolingbroke would come in his nightcap. It was the same offending nobleman who brought in the fashion of the mean little tie-wigs.

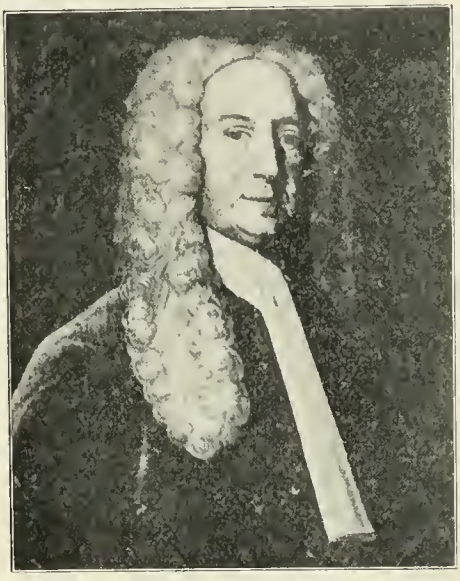
It is stated in Read's *Weekly Journal* of May 1, 1736, in an account of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, that the officers of the Horse and Foot Guards wore Ramillies periwigs when on parade, by his Majesty's order. We meet in the reign of George II other forms of wigs and other titles; the most popular was the pigtail wig. The pigtail of this was worn hanging down the back or tied up in a knot behind. This pigtail wig, worn for so many years, is shown on page 340. It was popular in the army for sixty years, but in 1804 orders were given for the pigtail to be reduced to seven inches in length, and finally, in 1808, to be cut off wholly, to the deep mourning of disciplinarians who deemed a soldier without a pigtail as hopeless as a Manx cat.

Bob-wigs, minor and major, came in during the reign of George II. The bob-wig was held to be a direct imitation of the natural hair, though, of course, it deceived no one; it was used chiefly by poorer folk. The 'prentice minor bob was close and short, the citizen's bob major, or Sunday buckle, had several rows of curls. All these came to America by the hundreds — yes, by the thousands. Every profession and almost every calling had its peculiar wig. The caricatures of the period represent full-



"King" Carter. Died 1732.

fledged lawyers with a towering frontlet and a long bag at the back tied in the middle; while students of the university have a wig flat on the top, to accommodate their stiff, square-cornered hats, and a great bag like a lawyer's wig at the back.



Judge Benjamin Lynde.

"When the law lays down its full-bottom'd periwig you will find less wisdom in bald pates than you are aware of," says the *Choleric Man*. This lawyer's wig is the only one which has not been changed or abandoned. You may see it here, on the head of Judge Benjamin Lynde of Salem. He died in 1745. Carlyle sneers: —

"Has not your Red hanging-individual a horsehair wig, squirrel-skins, and a plush-gown — whereby all Mortals know that he is a JUDGE?"

In the reigns of Anne and William and Mary perukes grew so vast and cumbersome that a wig was invented for travelling and for undress wear, and was called the "Campaign wig." It would not seem very simple since it was made full and curled to the front, and had, so writes a contemporary, Randle Holme, in his *Academy of Armory*, 1684, "knots and bobs a-dildo on each side and a curled forehead."

A campaign wig from Holme's drawing is shown on page 340.

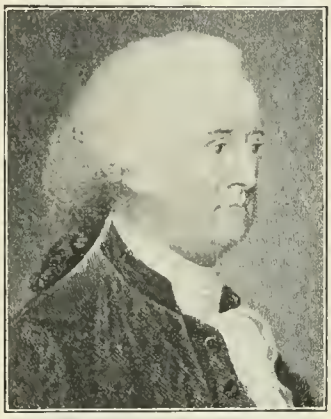
There are constant references in old letters and in early literature in America which alter much the dates assigned by English authorities on costume: thus, knowing not of Randle Holme's drawing, Sydney writes that the name "campaign" was applied to a wig, the name and fashion of which came to England from France in 1702. In the Letter-book of William Byrd of Westover, Virginia, in a letter written in June, 1690, to Perry and Lane, his English factors in London, he says, "I have by Tonner sent my long Periwig which I desire you to get made into a Campagne and send mee." This was twelve years earlier than Sydney's date. Fitz-John Winthrop wrote to England in 1695 for "two wiggs one a campane the other short." The portrait of Fitz-John Winthrop shows a prodigious imposing wig, but it has no "knots or bobs a-dildo on each side," though the forehead is curled; it is a fine example of a peruke.

I cannot attempt even to name all the wigs, much less can I describe them; Hawthorne gave "the tie," the "Brigadier," the "Major," the "Ramillies," the grave "Full-bottom," the giddy "Feather-top." To these and others already named in this chapter I can add the "Neck-lock," the "Allonge," the "Lavant," the "Vallancy," the "Grecian fly wig," the "Beau-peruke," the "Long-tail," the "Fox-tail," the "Cut-wig," the "Scratch," the "Twist-wig."

Others named in 1753 in the *London Magazine* were the "Royal bird," the "Rhinoceros," the

"Corded Wolf's-paw," "Count Saxe's mode," the "She-dragon," the "Jansenist," the "Wild-boar's-back," the "Snail-back," the "Spinach-seed." These titles were literal translations of French wig-names.

Another wig-name was the "Gregorian." We read in *The Honest Ghost*, 1658, "Pulling a little down his Gregorian, which was displac't a little by his hastie taking off his beaver." This wig was named from the inventor, one Gregory, "the famous peruke-maker who is buryed at St. Clements Danes Church." In Cotgrave's *Dictionary* perukes are called Gregorians.



John Rutledge.

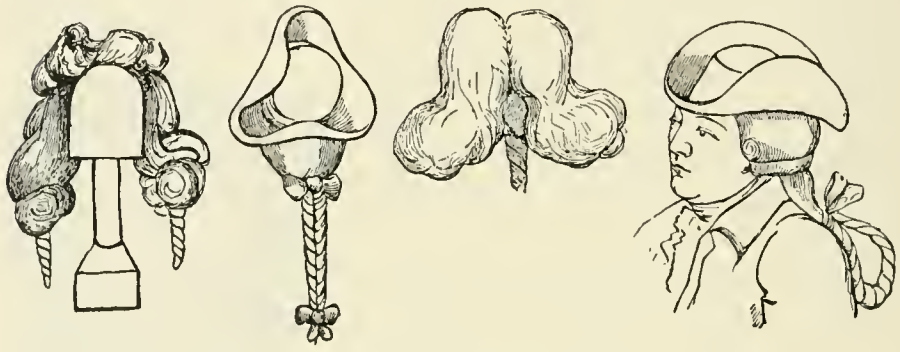
In the prologue to *Haut Ton*, written by George Colman, these wigs are named: —

> "The Tyburn scratch, thick Club and Temple tyes,
> The Parson's Feather-top, frizzed, broad and high.
> The coachman's Cauliflower, built tier on tier."

There was also the "Minister's bob," "Curley roys," "Airy levants," and "I — perukes." The "Dalmahoy" was a bushy bob-wig.

When Colonel John Carter died, he left to his brother Robert his cane, sword, and periwig. I believe this to be the very Vallancy periwig which, in all its snowy whiteness and air of extreme fashion, graces the head of the handsome young fellow as he is shown facing page 212. Even the portrait shares

the fascination which the man is said to have had for every woman. I have a copy of it now standing on my desk, where I can glance at him as I write; and pleasant company have I found the gay young Virginian — the best of company. It is good to



Campaign, Ramillies, Bob, and Pigtail Wigs.

have a companion so handsome of feature, so personable of figure, so laughing, care free, and debonair — isn't it, King Robert?

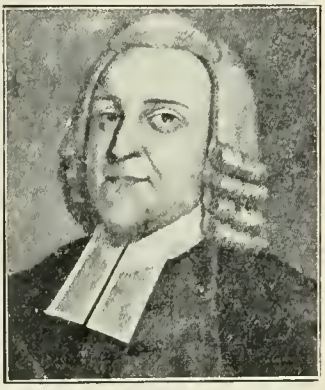
These snowy wigs at a later date were called Adonis wigs.

The cost of a handsome wig would sometimes amount to thirty, forty, and fifty guineas, though Swift grumbled at paying three guineas, and the exceedingly correct Mr. Pepys bought wigs at two and three pounds. It is not strange that they were often stolen. Gay, in his *Trivia*, thus tells the manner of their disappearance: —

> "Nor is the flaxen wig with safety worn;
> High on the shoulder, in a basket borne,
> Lurks the sly boy, whose hand to rapine bred,
> Plucks off the curling honors of the head."

In America wigs were deemed rich spoils for the sneak-thief.

There was a vast trade in second-hand wigs. 'Tis said there was in Rosemary Lane in London a constantly replenished "Wig lottery." It was, rather, a wig grab-bag. The wreck of gentility paid his last sixpence for appearances, dipped a long arm into a hole in a cask, and fished out his wig. It might be half-decent, or it might be fit only to polish shoes — worse yet, it might have been used already for that purpose. The lowest depths of everything were found in London. I doubt if we had any Rosemary Lane wig lotteries in New York, or Philadelphia, or Boston.



Rev. William Welsteed.

An answer to a query in a modern newspaper gives the word "caxon" as descriptive of a dress-wig. It was in truth a term for a wig, but it was a cant term, a slang phrase for the worst possible wig; thus Charles Lamb wrote: —

"He had two wigs both pedantic but of different omen. The one serene, smiling, fresh-powdered, betokening a mild day. The other an old discoloured, unkempt, angry caxon denoting frequent and bloody execution."

All these wigs, even the bob-wig, were openly artificial. The manner of their make, their bindings, their fastening, as well as their material, completely destroyed any illusion which could possibly

have been entertained as to their being a luxuriant crop of natural hair.

No one was ashamed of wearing a wig. On the contrary, a person with any sense of dignity was ashamed of being so unfashionable as to wear his own hair. It was a glorious time for those to whom Nature had been niggardly. A wig was as frankly extraneous as a hat. No attempt was made to imitate the roots of the hairs, or the parting. The hair was attached openly, and bound with a high-colored, narrow ribbon. Here is an advertisement from the *Boston News Letter* of August 14, 1729: —

"Taken from the shop of Powers Mariott, Barber, a light Flaxen Natural Wigg parted from the forehead to the Crown. The Narrow Ribband is of a Red Pink Color, the Caul is in rows of Red, Green and White Ribband."

Another "peruke-maker" lost a Flaxen "Natural" wig bound with peach-colored ribbon; while in 1755 Barber Coes, of Marblehead, lost "feather-tops" bound with various ribbons. Some had three colors on one wig — pink, green and purple. A goat's-hair wig bound with red and purple, with green ribbons striping the caul, must have been a pretty and dignified thing on an old gentleman's head. One of the most curious materials for a wig was fine wire, of which Wortley Montague's wig was made.

We read in many histories of costume, among them Miss Hill's recent history of English dress, that Quakers did not wear wigs. This is widely incorrect. Many Quakers wore most fashionably made wigs. William Penn wrote from England

Thomas Hopkinson.

to his steward, telling him to allow Deputy Governor Lloyd to wear his (Penn's) wigs. I suppose he wished his deputy to cut a good figure.

From the *New York Gazette* of May 9, 1737, we learn of a thief's stealing "one gray Hair Wig, not the worse for wearing, one Pale Hair Wig, not worn five times, marked V. S. E., one brown Natural wig, One old wig of goat's hair put in buckle." Buckle meant to curl, and derivatively a wig was in buckle when it was rolled for curling. Roulettes or bilbouquettes for buckling a wig were little rollers of pipe clay. The hair was twisted up in them, and papers bound over them to fix them in place. The roulettes could be put in buckle hot, or they could be rolled cold and the whole wig heated. The latter was not favored; it damaged the wig. Moreover, a careless barber had often roasted a forgotten wig which he had put in buckle and in an oven.

The *New York Gazette* of May 12, 1750, had this alluring advertisement: —

"This is to acquaint the Public, that there is lately arrived from London the Wonder of the World, *an Honest* Barber and Peruke Maker, who might have worked for the King, if his Majesty would have employed him: It was not for the want of Money he came here, for he had enough of that at Home, nor for the want of Business, that he advertises himself, BUT to acquaint the Gentlemen and Ladies, that *Such a Person is now in Town*, living near *Rosemary Lane* where Gentlemen and Ladies may be supplied with Goods as follows, viz.: Tyes, Full-Bottoms, Majors, Spencers, Fox-Tails, Ramalies, Tacks, cut and bob

Perukes: Also Ladies Tatematongues and Towers after the Manner that is now wore at Court. *By their Humble and Obedient Servant*,

"JOHN STILL."

"Perukes," says Malcolm, in his *Manners and Customs*, "were an highly important article in 1734." Those of right gray human hair were four guineas each; light grizzle ties, three guineas; and other colors in proportion, to twenty-five shillings. Right gray human hair cue perukes, from two guineas to fifteen shillings each, was the price of dark ones; and right gray bob perukes, two guineas and a half to fifteen shillings, the price of dark bobs. Those mixed with horsehair were much lower.

Reverend Dr. Barnard.

Prices were a bit higher in America. It was held that better wigs were made in England than in America or France; so the letter-books and agent's-lists of American merchants are filled with orders for English wigs.

Imperative orders for the earliest and extremest new fashions stood from year to year on the lists of fashionable London wig-makers; and these constant orders came from Virginia gentlemen and Massachusetts magistrates, — not a few, too, from the parsons, — scantly paid as they were. The smaller bob-wigs and tie-wigs were precisely the same in both countries, and I am sure were no later in

assumption in America than was necessitated by the weeks occupied in coming across seas.

Throughout the seventeenth century all classes of men in American towns wore wigs. Negro slaves flaunted white horsehair wigs, goat's-hair bob-wigs, natural wigs, all the plainer wigs, and all the more costly sorts when these were half worn and second-hand. Soldiers wore wigs; and in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of the year 1774 a runaway negro is described as wearing a curl of hair tied around his head to imitate a scratch wig; with his woolly crown this dangling curl must have been the height of absurdity.

It is not surprising to find in the formal life of the English court the poor little tormented, sickly, sad child of Queen Anne wearing, before he was seven years old, a large full-bottomed wig; but it is curious to see the portraits of American children rigged up in wigs (I have half a dozen such), and to find likewise an American gentleman (and not one of wealth either) paying £9 apiece for wigs for three little sons of seven, nine, and eleven years of age. This lavish parent was Enoch Freeman, who lived in Portland, Maine, in 1754.

Wigs were objects of much and constant solicitude and care; their dressing was costly, and they wore out readily. Barbers cared for them by the month or year, visiting from house to house. Ten pounds a year was not a large sum to be paid for the care of a single wig. Men of dignity and careful dress had barbers' bills of large amount, such men as Governor John Hancock, Governor Hutchinson, and Governor Belcher. On Saturday afternoons the barbers'

boys were seen flying through the narrow streets, wig-box in hand, hurrying to deliver all the dressed wigs ere sunset came.

No doubt the constant wearing of such hot, heavy head-covering made the hair thin and the head bald; thus wigs became a necessity. Men had their heads very closely covered of old, and caught cold at a breath. Pepys took cold throwing off his hat while at dinner. If the wig were removed even within doors a close cap or hood at once took its place, or, as I tell elsewhere, a turban of some rich stuff. In America, in the Southern states, where people were poor and plantations scattered, all men did not wear wigs. A writer in the *London Magazine* in 1745 tells of this country carelessness of dress. He says that except some of the "very Elevated Sort" few wore perukes; so that at first sight "all looked as if about to go to bed," for all wore caps. Common people wore woollen caps; richer ones donned caps of white cotton or Holland linen. These were worn even when riding fifty miles from home. He adds, "It may be cooler for aught I know; but methinks 'tis very ridiculous." So wonted were his eyes to perukes, that his only thought of caps was that they were "ridiculous." Nevertheless, when a shipload of servants, bond-servants who might be stolen when in drink, or lured under false pretences, might be convicts, or honest workmen, — when these transports were set up in respectability, — scores of new wigs of varying degrees of dignity came across seas with them. Many an old caxon or "gossoon" — a

wig worn yellow with age — ended its days on the pate of a redemptioner, who thereby acquired dignity and was more likely to be bought as a schoolmaster. Truly our ancestors were not squeamish, and it is well they were not, else they would have squeamed from morning till night at the sights, and sounds, and things, and dirt around them. But these be parlous words; they had the senses and feelings of their day — suited to the surroundings of their day. In one thing they can be envied. Knowing not of germs and microbes, dreaming not of antiseptics and fumigation, they could be happy in blissful unconsciousness of menacing environment — a blessing wholly denied to us.

Andrew Ellicott.

When James Murray came from Scotland in 1735 he went up the Cape Fear River in North Carolina to the struggling settlements of Brunswick. The stock of wigs which he brought as one of the commodities of his trade had absolutely no market. In 1751 he wrote thus to his London wig-maker: —

"We deal so much in caps in this country that we are almost as careless of the outside as of the inside of our heads. I have had but one wig since the last I had of you, and yours has outworn it. Now I am near out, and you may make me a new grisel Bob."

Nevertheless, in 1769, when he was roughly handled in Boston on account of his Tory utterances, his head, though he was but fifty-six, was bald from wig-wearing. His spirited recital runs thus: —

"The crowd intending sport, remained. As I was pressing out, my Wig was pulled off and a pate shaved by Time and the barber was left exposed. This was thought a signal and prelude to further insult; which would probably have taken place but for hindering the cause. Going along in this plight, surrounded by the crowd, in the dark, a friend hold of either arm supporting me, while somebody behind kept nibbling at my sides and endeavouring of treading the reforming justice out of me by the multitude. My wig dishevelled, was borne on a staff behind. My friends and supporters offered to house me, but I insisted on going home in the present trim, and was landed in safety."

Patriotic Boston barbers found much satisfaction in ill treating the wigs of their Tory customers and patrons. William Pyncheon, a Salem Tory, wrote a few years later: —

"The tailors and barbers, in their squinting and fleering at our clothes, and especially our wiggs, begin to border on malevolence. Had not the caul of my wigg been of uncommon stuff and workmanship, I think my barber would have had it in pieces: his dressing it greatly resembles the farmer dressing his flax, the latter of the two being the gentlest in his motions."

Worcester Tories, among them Timothy Paine, had their wigs pulled off in public. Mr. Paine at once gave his dishonored wig to one of his negro slaves, and never after resumed wig-wearing.

# CHAPTER XII

## THE BEARD

"*Though yours be sorely lugg'd and torn*
*It does your Visage more adorn*
*Than if 'twere prun'd, and starch'd, and launder'd*
*And cut square by the Russian standard.*"

— "Hudibras," SAMUEL BUTLER.

"*Now of beards there be such company*
*And fashions such a throng*
*That it is very hard to handle a beard*
*Tho' it be never so long.*

"*'Tis a pretty sight and a grave delight*
*That adorns both young and old*
*A well thatch't face is a comely grace*
*And a shelter from the cold.*"

— "Le Prince d'Amour," 1660.

# CHAPTER XII

## THE BEARD

MEN'S hair on their heads hath ever been at odds with that on their face. If the head were well covered and the hair long, then the face was smooth shaven. William the Conqueror had short hair and a beard, then came a long-haired king, then a cropped one; Edward IV's subjects had long hair and closely cut beards. Henry VII fiercely forbade beards. The great sovereign Henry VIII ordered short hair like the French, and wore a beard. Through Elizabeth's day and that of James the beard continued. Not until great perukes overshadowed the whole face did the beard disappear. It vanished for a century as if men were beardless; but after men began to wear short hair in the early years of the nineteenth century, bearded men appeared. A few German mystics who had come to America full-bearded were stared at like the elephant, and a sight of them was recorded in a diary as a great event.

There is no doubt that, to the general reader, the ordinary thought of the Puritan is with a beard, a face and figure much like the Hogarth illustrations of Hudibras — one of the "Presbyterian true Blue,"

"the stubborn crew of Errant Saints," — without the grotesquery of face and feature, perhaps, but certainly with all the plainness and gracelessness of

Herbert Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford.

dress and the commonplace beard. The wording of Hudibras also figures the popular conception: —

"His tawny Beard was th' equal Grace
Both of his Wisdom and his Face:

* * * * *

His Doublet was of sturdy Buff
And tho' not Sword, was Cudgel-Proof.
His Breeches were of rugged Woolen
And had been at the Siege of Bullen."

PROPERTY OF
THE ACTORS' EQUITY ASS'



In truth this is well enough as far as it runs and for one suit of clothing; but this was by no means a universal dress, nor was it a universal beard. Indeed beards were fearfully and wonderfully varied.

That humorous old rhymester, Taylor, the "Water Poet," may be quoted at length on the vanity thus: —

"And Some, to set their Love's-Desire on Edge
Are cut and prun'd, like to a Quickset Hedge.
Some like a Spade, some like a Forke, some square,
Some round, some mow'd like stubble, some starke bare;
Some sharpe, Stilletto-fashion, Dagger-like,
That may with Whispering a Man's Eyes unpike;
Some with the Hammer-cut, or Roman T.
Their Beards extravagant, reform'd must be.
Some with the Quadrate, some Triangle fashion;
Some circular, some ovall in translation;
Some Perpendicular in Longitude,
Some like a Thicket for their Crassitude,
That Heights, Depths, Breadths, Triform, Square, Ovall, Round
And Rules Geometrical in Beards are found."

Taylor's own beard was screw-shaped. I fancy he invented it.

The Anglo-Saxon beard was parted, and this double form remained for a long time. Sometimes there were two twists or two long forks.

A curious pointed beard, a beard in two curls, is shown on page 225, on James Douglas, Earl of Morton. A still more strangely kept one, pointed in the middle of the chin, and kept in two rolls which roll toward the front, is upon the aged herald, on page 354.

Richard II had a mean beard, — two little tufts

on the chin known as "the mouse-eaten beard, here a tuft, there a tuft." The round beard "like a half a Holland cheese" is always seen in the depictions of Falstaff; "a great round beard" we know he had. This was easily trimmed, but others took so much time and attention that pasteboard boxes were made to tie over them at night, that they might be unrumpled in the morning.

The Herald Vandum.

In the reign of Elizabeth and of James I a beard and whiskers or mustache were universally worn. In the time of Charles I the general effect of beard and mustache was triangular, with the mouth in the centre, as in the portrait of Waller on page 37.

A beard of some form was certainly universal in 1620. Often it was the orderly natural growth shown on Winthrop's face; a smaller tuft on the chin with a mustache also was much worn. Many ministers in America had this chin-tuft. Among them were John Eliot and John Davenport. The Stuarts wore a pointed beard, carefully trimmed, and a mustache; but the natural beard seems to have disappeared with the ruff. Charles II clung for a time to a mustache; his portrait by Mary Beale has one; but with the

great development of the periwig came a smooth face. This continued until the nineteenth century brought a fashion of bearded men again; a fashion which was so abhorred, so reviled, so openly warred with that I know of the bequest of a large estate with the absolute and irrevocable condition that the inheritor should never wear a beard of any form.

The hammer cut was of the reign of Charles I. It was T-shaped. In the play, *The Queen of Corinth*, 1647, are the lines: —

> "He strokes his beard
> Which now he puts in the posture of a T,
> The Roman T. Your T-beard is in fashion."

The spade beard is shown on page 356. It was called the "broad pendant," and was held to make a man look like a warrior. The sugar-loaf beard was the natural form much worn by Puritans; by natural I mean not twisted into any "strange antic forms." The swallow-tail cut (about 1600) is more unusual, but was occasionally seen.

> "The stiletto-beard
> It makes me afeard
> It is so sharp beneath.
> For he that doth place
> A dagger in his face
> What wears he in his sheath?"

An unusually fine stiletto beard is on the chin of John Endicott (page 5). It was distinctly a soldier's beard. Endicott was major-general of the colonial forces and a severe disciplinarian. Shakespere, in

*Henry V*, speaks of "a beard of the General's cut." It was worn by the Earl of Southampton (see facing page 190), and perhaps Endicott favored it on that account. The pique-devant beard or "pick-a-devant beard, O Fine Fashion," was much worn. A good moderate example may be seen upon Cousin Kilvert, with doublet and band, in the print on page 41. An extreme type was the beard of Robert Greene, the Elizabethan dramatist, "A jolly long red peake like the spire of a steeple, which he wore continually, whereat a man might hang a jewell; it was so sharp and pendent."

Scotch Beard.

The word "peak" was constantly used for a beard, and also the words "spike" and "spear." A barber is represented in an old play as asking whether his customer will "have his peak cut short and sharp; or amiable like an inamorato, or broad pendant like a spade; to be terrible like a warrior and a soldado; to have his appendices primed, or his mustachios fostered to turn about his eares like ye branches of a vine."

A broad square-cut beard spreading at the ends like an open fan is the "cathedral beard" of Randle Holme, "so called because grave men of the church did wear it." It is often seen in portraits. One of these is shown on page 357.

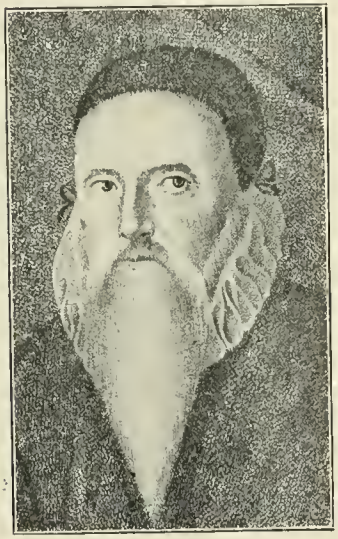
In the *Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas*, 1731, she writes of her grandfather, a Turkey-merchant: —

"He was very nice in the Mode of his Age — his Valet being some hours every morning in *Starching* his *Beard* and Curling his Whiskers during which Time a Gentleman whom he maintain'd as Companion always read to him upon some useful subject."

Dr. William Slater.
Cathedral Beard.

So we may believe they really "starched" their beards, stiffened them with some dressing. Taylor, the "Water Poet" (1640), says of beards: —

"Some seem as they were starched stiff and fine
Like to the Bristles of some Angry Swine."



Dr. John Dee. 1600.

Dr. Dee's extraordinary beard I can but regard as an affectation of singularity, assumed doubtless to attract attention, and to be a sign of unusual parts. Aubrey, his friend, calls him "a very handsome man; of very fair, clear, sanguine complexion, with a long beard as white as milke. He was tall and slender. He wore a gowne like an artist's gowne; with hanging sleeves and a slitt. A mighty good man he was." The

word "artist" then meant artisan; and in this reference means a smock like a workman's.

A name seen often in Winthrop's letters is that of Sir Kenelm Digby. He was an intimate correspondent of John Winthrop the second, and it would not be strange if he did many errands for Winthrop in England besides purchasing drugs. His portrait, and a lugubrious one it is, is one of the few of his day which shows an untrimmed beard. Aubrey says of him that after the death of his wife he wore "a long mourning cloak, a high cornered hatt, his beard unshorn, look't like a hermit; as signs of sorrow for his beloved wife. He had something of the sweetness of his mother's face." This sweetness is, however, not to be perceived in his unattractive portrait.

# CHAPTER XIII

## PATTENS, CLOGS, AND GOLOE-SHOES

"*Q.* *Why is a Wife like a Patten?*
*A.* *Both are Clogs.*"

— Old Riddle.

# CHAPTER XIII

## PATTENS, CLOGS, AND GOLOE-SHOES

WHEN this old pigskin trunk was new, the men who fought in the Revolution were young. Here is the date, "1756," and the initials in brass-headed nails, "J. E. H." It was a bride's trunk, the trunk of Elizabeth, who married John; and it was marked after the manner of marking the belongings of married folk in her day. It is curious in shape, spreading out wide at the top; for it was made to fit a special place in an old coach. I have told the story of that ancient coach in my *Old Narragansett:* the tale of the ignoble end of its days, the account of its fall from transportation of this happy bride and bridegroom, through years of stately use and formal dignity to more years of happy desuetude as a children's cubby-house; and finally its ignominy as a roosting-place, and hiding-place, and laying-place, and setting-place of misinformed and misguided hens. Under the coachman's seat, where the two-score dark-blue Staffordshire pie-plates were found on the day of the annihilation of the coach, was the true resting-place of this trunk. It was a hidden spot, for the trunk was small, and was intended to hold only treasures. It holds them

still, though they are not the silver-plate, the round watches, the narrow laces, and the precious camel's-hair scarf. It now holds treasured relics of the olden time; trifles, but not unconsidered ones; much esteemed trifles are they, albeit not in form or shape or manner of being fit to rest in parlor cabinets or on tables, but valued, nevertheless, valued for that most intangible of qualities — association.

Iron and Leather Pattens. 1760.

Here is one little "antick." It is an ample bag with the neat double drawing-strings of our youth; a bag, nay, a pocket. It once hung by the side of some one of my forbears, perhaps Elizabeth of the brass-nailed initials. It was a much-esteemed pocket, though it is only of figured cotton or chiney; but those stuffs were much sought after when this old trunk was new. The pocket has served during recent years as a cover for two articles of footwear which many "of the younger sort" to-day have never seen — they are pattens. "Clumsy, ugly pattens" we find them frequently stigmatized in the

severe words of the early years of the nineteenth century, but there is nothing ugly or clumsy about this pair. The sole is of some black, polished wood — it is heavy enough for ebony; the straps are of strong leather neatly stitched; the buckles are polished brass, and brass nails fasten the leather to the wooden soles. These soles are cut up high in a ridge to fit under the instep of a high-heeled

Oak, Iron, and Leather Clogs. 1790.

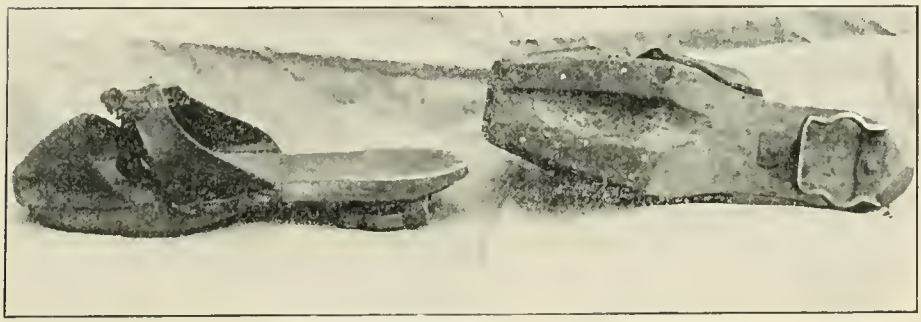
shoe; for it was a very little lady who wore these pattens, — Elizabeth, — and her little feet always stood in the highest heels. She was active, kindly, and bountiful. She lived to great age, and she could and did walk many miles a day until the last year of her life. She is recalled as wearing a great scarlet cloak with a black silk quilted hood on cold winter days, when she visited her neighbors with kindly words, and housewifely, homely gifts, conveyed in an ample basket. The cloak was made precisely like the scarlet cloak shown facing page 258, and had a like hood. She was brown-eyed, and her dark

hair was never gray even in extreme old age; nor was the hair of her granddaughter, another Elizabeth, my grandmother. Trim and erect of figure, and precise and neat of dress, wearing, on account of this neatness, shorter petticoats, when walking, than was the mode of her day, and also through this neatness clinging to the very last to these cleanly, useful, quaint pattens. Her black hood, frilled white cap, short, quilted petticoat, high-heeled shoes, and the shining ebony and brass pattens, and over all the great, full scarlet cloak, — all these made her an unusual and striking figure against the Wayland landscape, the snowy fields and great sombre pine trees of Heard's Island, as she trod trimly, in short pattened steps that crackled the kittly-benders in the shadowed roads, or sunk softly in the shallow mud of the sunny lanes on a snow-melting day in late winter. Would I could paint the picture as I see it!

These pattens in the old trunk are prettier than most pattens which have been preserved. In general, they are rather shabby things. I have another pair — more commonplace, which chance to exist; they were not saved purposely. They are pictured on page 362.

There is a most ungallant old riddle, "Why is a wife like a patten?" The answer reads, "Because both are clogs." A very courteous bishop was once asked this uncivil query, and he answered without a moment's hesitation, "Because both elevate the soul (sole)." Pattens may be clogs, yet there is a difference. After much consultation of various

authorities, and much discussion in the columns of various querying journals, I make this decision and definition. Pattens are thick, wooden soles roughly shaped in the outline of the human foot (in the shoemaker's notion of that member), mounted



English Clogs.

on a round or oval ring of iron, fixed by two or three pins to the sole, in such a way that when the patten is worn the sole of the wearer's foot is about two inches above the ground. A heel-piece with buckles and straps, strings or buttons and leather loops, and a strap over the toe, retain the patten in place upon the foot when the wearer trips along. (See page 362.) Clogs serve the same purpose, but are simply wooden soles tipped and shod with iron. These also have heel-pieces and straps of various materials — from the heavy serviceable leather shown in the clogs on pages 363 and 365 to the fine brocade clogs made and worn by two brides and pictured on page 368. Dainty brass tips and colored morocco straps made a really refined pair of clogs. Poplar wood was deemed the best wood for pattens and clogs. Sometimes the wooden sole was thin, and

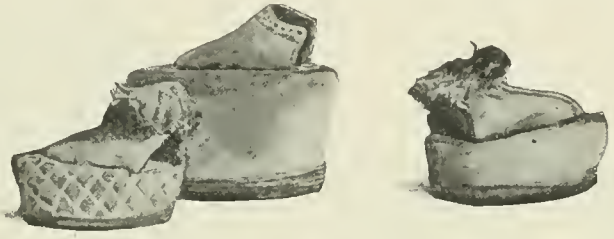
was cut at the line under the instep in two pieces and hinged. These hinges were held to facilitate walking. Children also wore clogs. (See page 370.) Clogs, as worn by English and American folk, did not raise the wearer as high above the mud and mire as did pattens, but I have seen Turkish clogs that were ten inches high. Chopines were worn by Englishwomen to make them look taller. Three are shown on page 367. Lady Falkland was short and stout, and wore them for years to increase her apparent height; so she states in her memoirs.

It is a curious philological study that, while the words "clogs" and "pattens" for a time were constantly heard, the third name which has survived till to-day is the oldest of all — "galoshes." Under the many spellings, galoe-shoes, goloshes, gallage, galoche, and gallosh, it has come down to us from the Middle Ages. It is spelt galoches in *Piers Plowman*. In a *Compotus* or household account of the Countess of Derby in 1388 are entries of botews (boots), souters (slippers), and "one pair of galoches, 14 *d.*" Clogs, or galoches, were known in the days of the Saxons, when they were termed "wife's shoes."

A "galage" was a shoe "which has nothing on the feet but a latchet"; it was simply a clog. In February, 1687, Judge Sewall notes, "Send my mothers Shoes & Golowshoes to carry to her." In 1736 Peter Faneuil sent to England for "Galoushoes" for his sister. Another foot-covering for slippery, icy walking is named by Judge Sewall.

He wrote on January 19, 1717, "Great rain and very Slippery; was fain to wear Frosts." These frosts were what had been called on horses, "frost nails," or calks. They were simply spiked soles to help the wearer to walk on ice. A pair may be seen at the Deerfield Memorial Hall. Another pair is of half-soles with sharp ridges of iron, set, one the length of the half-sole, the other across it.

For a time clogs seem to have been in constant use in America; frail morocco slippers and thin



Chopines, Seventeenth Century. In the Ashmolean Museum.

prunella and callimanco shoes made them necessary, as did also the unpaved streets. Heavy-soled shoes were unknown for women's wear. Women walked but short distances. In the country they always rode. We find even Quaker women warned in 1720 not to wear "Shoes of light Colours bound with Differing Colours, and heels White or Red, with White bands, and fine Coloured Clogs and Strings, and Scarlet and Purple Stockings and Petticoats made Short to expose them" — a rather startling description of footwear. Again, in 1726, in Burlington, New Jersey, Friends were asked to be "careful to avoid wearing of Stript Shoos, or

Red and White Heel'd Shoos, or Clogs, or Shoos trimmed with Gawdy Colours."

Ann Warder, an English Quaker, was in Philadelphia, 1786 to 1789, and kept an entertaining journal, from which I make this quotation: —

"Got B. Parker to go out shopping with me. On our way happened of Uncle Head, to whom I complained bitterly of the dirty streets, declaring if I could purchase a

Brides' Clogs of Brocade and Sole Leather.

pair of pattens, the singularity I would not mind. Uncle soon found me up an apartment, out of which I took a pair and trotted along quite Comfortable, crossing some streets with the greatest ease, which the idea of had troubled me. My little companion was so pleased, that she wished some also, and kept them on her feet to learn to walk in them most of the remainder of the day."

Fairholt, in his book upon costume, says, "Pattens date their origin to the reign of Anne." Like many other dates and statements given by this author, this is wholly wrong. In *Purchas', his Pilgrimage*, 1613,

is this sentence, "Clogges or Pattens to keep them out of the dust they may not burden themselves with," showing that the name and thing was the same then as to-day.

Clogs of "Pennsylvania Dutch."

Charles Dibdin has a song entitled, *The Origin of the Patten.* Fair Patty went out in the mud and the mire, and her thin shoes speedily were wet. Then she became hoarse and could not sing, while her lover longed for the sweet sound of her voice.

> "My anvil glow'd, my hammer rang,
> Till I had form'd from out the fire
> To bear her feet above the mire,
> A platform for my blue-eyed Patty.
> Again was heard each tuneful close,
> My fair one in the patten rose,
> Which takes its name from blue-eyed Patty."

This fanciful derivation of the word was not an original thought of Dibdin. Gay wrote in his *Trivia*, 1715:—

> "The patten now supports each frugal dame
> That from the blue-eyed Patty takes the name."

In reality, patten is derived from the French word *patin*, which has a varied meaning of the sole of a shoe or a skate.

Pattens were noisy, awkward wear. A writer of the day of their universality wrote, "Those ugly,

noisy, ferruginous, ancle-twisting, foot-cutting, clinking things called women's pattens." Notices were set in church porches enjoining the removal of women's pattens, which, of course, should never have been worn into church during service-time.

Children's Clogs. 1730.

It may have disappeared to-day, but four years ago, on the door of Walpole St. Peters, near Wisbeck, England, hung a board which read, "People who enter this church are requested to take off their pattens." A friend in Northamptonshire, England, writes me that pattens are still seen on muddy days in remote English villages in that shire.

Men wore pattens in early days. And men did and do wear clogs in English mill-towns.

There were also horse pattens or horse clogs which horses wore through deep, muddy roads; I have an interesting photograph of a pair found in Northampton.

# CHAPTER XIV

## BATTS AND BROAGS, BOOTS AND SHOES

*"By my Faith! Master Inkpen, thou hast put thy foot in it! Tis a pretty subject and a strange one, and a vast one, but we'll leave it never a sole to stand on. The proverb hath 'There's naught like leather,' but my Lady answers 'Save silk.'"*

— Old Play.

# CHAPTER XIV

## BATTS AND BROAGS, BOOTS AND SHOES

ONE of the first sumptuary laws in New England declared that men of mean estate should not walk abroad in immoderate great boots. It was a natural prohibition where all extravagance in dress was reprehended and restrained. The "great boots" which had been so vast in the reign of James I seemed to be spreading still wider in the reign of Charles. I have an old "Discourse" on leather dated 1629, which states fully the condition of things. Its various headings read, "The general Use of Leather;" "The general Abuse thereof;" "The good which may arise from the Reformation;" "The several Statutes made in that behalf by our ancient Kings;" and lastly a "Petition to the High Court of Parliament." It is all most informing; for instance, in the trades that might want work were it not for leather are named not only "shoemakers, cordwainers, curriers, etc.," but many now obsolete. The list reads: —

"Book binders.
Saddlers.
Upholsterers.
Budget makers.
Trunk makers.
Belt makers.

| | |
|---|---|
| Case makers. | Box makers. |
| Wool-card makers. | Cabinet makers. |
| Shuttle makers. | Bottle and Jack makers. |
| Hawks-hood makers | Gridlers. |
| Scabbard-makers. | Glovers." |

Unwillingly the author added "those *upstart trades* — Coach Makers, and Harness Makers for Coach Horses." It was really feared, by this sensible gentleman-writer — and many others — that if many carriages and coaches were used, shoemakers would suffer because so few shoes would be worn out.

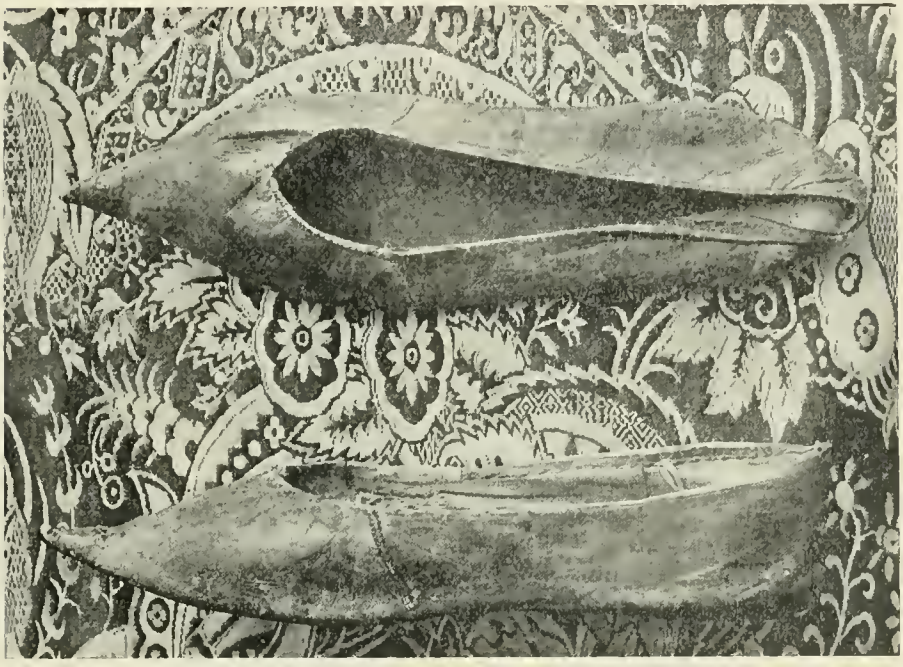
From the statutes which are rehearsed we learn that the footwear of the day was "boots, shoes, buskins, startups, slippers, or pantofles." Stubbes said: —

"They have korked shooes puisnets pantoffles, some of black velvet, some of white some of green, some of yellow, some of Spanish leather, some of English leather stitched with Silke and embroidered with Gold & Silver all over the foot."

A very interesting book has been published by the British Cordwainers' Guild, giving a succession of fine illustrations of the footwear of different times and nations. Among them are some handsome English slippers, shoes, jack-boots, etc. We have also in our museums, historical collections, and private families many fine examples; but the difficulty is in the assigning of correct dates. Family tradition is absolutely wide of the truth — its fabulous dates are often a century away from the proper year.

The Copley Family Picture.

Buskins to the knee were worn even by royalty; Queen Elizabeth's still exist. Buskins were in wear when the colonies were settled. Richard Sawyer, of Windsor, Connecticut, had cloth buskins in 1648; and a hundred years later runaway servants wore



Wedding Slippers and Brocade. 1712.

them. One redemptioner is described as running off in "sliders and buskins." American buskins were a foot-covering consisting of a strong leather sole with cloth uppers and leggins to the knees, which were fastened with lacings. Startups were similar, but heavier. In Thynne's *Debate between Pride and Lowliness*, the dress of a countryman is described. It runs thus:—

"A payre of startups had he on his feete
That lased were up to the small of the legge.
Homelie they are, and easier than meete;
And in their soles full many a wooden pegge."

Thomas Johnson of Wethersfield, Connecticut, died in 1840. He owned "1 Perre of Startups."

Slippers were worn even in the fifteenth century. In the *Paston Letters*, in a letter dated February 23, 1479, is this sentence, "In the whych lettre was VIII d with the whych I shulde bye a peyr of slyppers." Even for those days eightpence must have been a small price for slippers. In 1686, Judge Samuel Sewall wrote to a member of the Hall family thanking him for "The Kind Loving Token — the East Indian Slippers for my wife." Other colonial letters refer to Oriental slippers; and I am sure that Turkish slippers are worn by Lady Temple in her childish portrait, painted in company with her brother. Slip-shoes were evidently slippers — the word is used by Sewall; and slap-shoes are named by Randle Holme. Pantofles were also slippers, being apparently rather handsomer footwear than ordinary slippers or slip-shoes. They are in general specified as embroidered. Evelyn tells of the fine pantofles of the Pope embroidered with jewels on the instep.

So great was the use and abuse of leather that a petition was made to Parliament in 1629 to attempt to restrict the making of great boots. One sentence runs: —

"The wearing of Boots is not the Abuse; but the generality of wearing and the manner of cutting Boots out

with huge slovenly unmannerly immoderate tops. What over lavish spending is there in Boots and Shoes. To either of which is now added a French proud Superfluity of Leather.

"For the general Walking in Boots it is a Pride taken up by the Courtier and is descended to the Clown. The Merchant and Mechanic walk in Boots. Many of our

Jack-boots. Owned by Lord Fairfax of Virginia.

Clergy either in neat Boots or Shoes and Galloshoes. University Scholars maintain the Fashion likewise. Some Citizens out of a Scorn not to be Gentile go every day booted. Attorneys, Lawyers, Clerks, Serving Men, All Sorts of Men delight in this Wasteful Wantonness.

Wasteful I may well call it. One pair of boots eats up the leather of six reasonable pair of men's shoes."

Monstrous boots seem to have been the one frivolity in dress which the Puritans could not give up. In the reign of Charles I boots were superb. The tops were flaring, lined within with lace or embroidered or fringed; thus when turned down they were richly ornamental. Fringes of leather, silk, or cloth edged some boot-tops on the outside; the leather itself was carved and gilded. The soldiers and officers of Cromwell's army sometimes gave up laces and fringes, but not the boot-tops. The Earl of Essex, his general, had cloth fringes on his boots. (See his portrait facing page 26; also the portrait of Lord Fairfax, facing page 38.) In the court of Charles II and Louis XIV of France the boot-tops spread to absurd inconvenience. The toes of these boots were very square, as were the toes of men's and women's shoes. Children's shoes were of similar form. The singular shoes worn by John Quincy and Robert Gibbes are precisely right-angled. It was a sneer at the Puritans that they wore pointed toes. The shoe-ties, roses, and buckles varied; but the square toes lingered, though they were singularly inelegant. On the feet of George I (see portrait facing page 184) the square-toed shoes are ugly indeed.

James I scornfully repelled shoe-roses when brought to him for his wear; asking if they wished to "make a ruffle-footed dove" of him. But soon he wore the largest rosettes in court. Peacham tells that some cost as much as £30 a pair, being then, of course, of rare lace.

*Friar Bacon's Brazen Head Prophecie*, set into a "Plaie" or Rhyme, has these verses (1604): —

Joshua Warner.

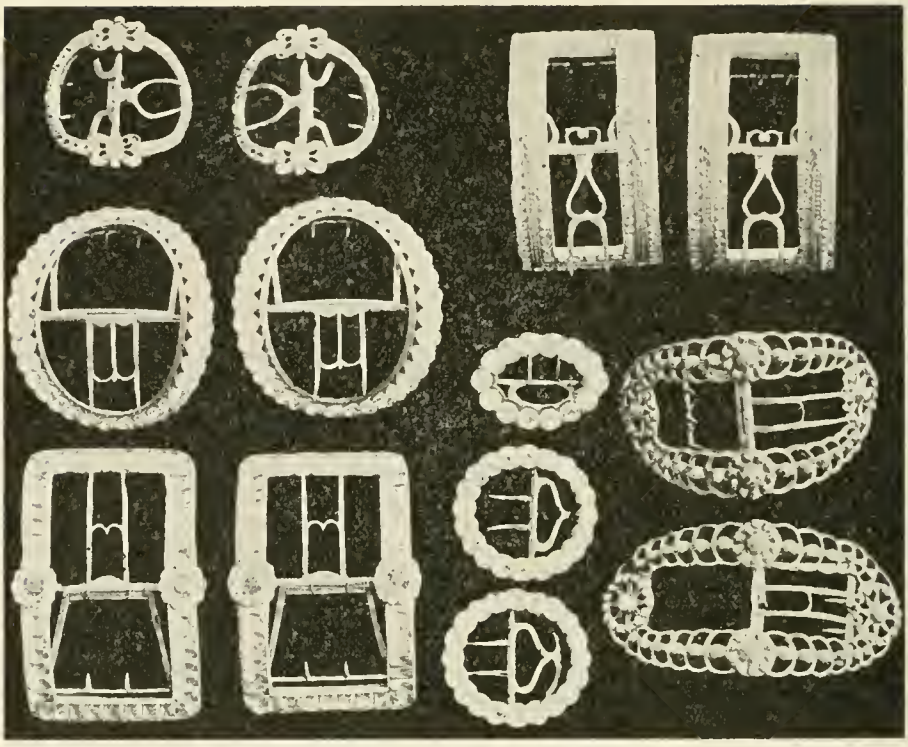
"Then Handkerchers were wrought
With Names and true Love Knots;
And not a wench was taught
A false Stitch in her spots;
When Roses in the Gardaines grew
And not in Ribons on a Shoe.

"*Now* Sempsters few are taught
The true Stitch in their Spots;
And Names are sildome wrought
Within the true love knots;
And Ribon Roses takes such Place
That Garden Roses want their Grace."

Shoes of buff leather, slashed, were the very height of the fashion in the first years of the seventeenth century. They can be seen on the feet of Will Sommers in his portrait. Through the slashes showed bright the scarlet or green stockings of cloth or yarn. Bright-colored shoe-strings gave additional gaudiness. Green shoe-strings, spangled, gilded shoe-strings, shoes of "dry-neat-leather tied with red ribbons," "russet boots," "white silken shoe strings," — all were worn.

Red heels appear about 1710. In Hogarth's original paintings they are seen. Women wore them extensively in America.

The jack-boots of Stuart days seem absolutely imperishable. They are of black, jacked leather like the leather bottles and black-jacks from which Englishmen drank their ale. So closely are they alike that I do not wonder a French traveller wrote home that Englishmen drank from their boots. These jack-boots were as solid and unpliable as iron,



Shoe and Knee Buckles.

square-toed and clumsy of shape. A pair in perfect preservation which belonged to Lord Fairfax in Virginia is portrayed on page 377. Had all colonial gentlemen worn jack-boots, the bootmakers and shoemakers would have been ruined, for a pair would last a lifetime.

In 1767 we find William Cabell of Virginia paying these prices for his finery: —

| | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Pair single channelled boots with straps . | 1 | 2 | |
| 1 | Pair Strong Buckskin Breeches . . . . . | 1 | 10 | |
| 2 | Pairs Fashionable Chain Silver Spurs . . | 2 | 10 | |
| 1 | Pair Silver Buttons . . . . . | | 6 | |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 fine Magazine Blue Cloth Housing laced . | | 12 | |
| 1 Strong Double Bridle . . . . . | | 4 | 6 |
| 6 Pair Men's fine Silk Hose . . . . . | 4 | 4 | |
| Buttons & trimmings for a coat . . . . . | 5 | 2 | |

New England dandies wore, as did Monsieur A-la-mode: —

> "A pair of smart pumps made up of grain'd leather,
> So thin he can't venture to tread on a feather."

Buckles were made of pinchbeck, an alloy of four parts of copper and one part of zinc, invented by Christopher Pinchbeck, a London watchmaker of the eighteenth century. Buckles were also "plaited" and double "plaited" with gold and silver (which was the general spelling of plated). Plated buckles were cast in pinchbeck, with a pattern on the surface. A silver coating was laid over this. These buckles were set with marcasite, garnet, and paste jewels; sometimes they were of gold with real diamonds. But much imitation jewellery was worn by all people even of great wealth. Perhaps imitation is an incorrect word. The old paste jewels made no assertion of being diamonds. Steel cut in facets and combined with gold, made beautiful buckles. A number of rich shoe and garter buckles, owned in Salem, are shown on page 380.

These old buckles were handsome, costly, dignified; they were becoming; they were elegant. Nevertheless, the fashionable world tired of its expensive and appropriate buckles; they suddenly were deemed inconveniently large, and plain shoe-strings

took their place. This caused great commotion and ruin among the buckle-makers, who, with the fatuity of other tradespeople — the wig-makers, the hair-powder makers — in like calamitous changes of fashion, petitioned the Prince of Wales, in 1791, to do something to revive their vanishing trade. But it was like placing King Canute against the advancing waves of the sea.

When the Revolutionists in France set about altering and simplifying costume, they did away

Wedding Slippers.

with shoe-buckles, and fastened their shoes with plain strings. Minister Roland, one day in 1793, was about to present himself to Louis XVI while he was wearing shoes with strings. The old Master of Ceremonies, scandalized at having to introduce a person in such a state of undress, looked despairingly at Dumouriez, who was present. Dumouriez replied with an equally hopeless gesture, and the words, "Hélas! oui, monsieur, tout est perdu."

President Jefferson, with his hateful French notions, made himself especially obnoxious to conservative American folk by giving up shoe-buckles. I read in the *New York Evening Post* that when he received the noisy bawling band of admirers who brought into the White House the Mammoth Cheese (one of the most vulgar exhibitions ever seen in this country), he was "dressed in his suit of customary black, with shoes that laced tight round the ankle and closed with a neat leathern string."

When shoe-strings were established and trousers were becoming popular, there seemed to be a time of indecision as to the dress of the legs below the short pantaloons and above the stringed shoes. That point of indefiniteness was filled promptly with top-boots. First, black tops appeared; then came tops of fancy leather, of which yellow was the favorite. Gilt tassels swung pleasingly from the colored tops. Silken tassels — home made — were worn. I have a letter from a young American macaroni to his sweetheart in which he thanks her for her "heart-filling boot-tossels" — which seems to me a very cleverly flattering adjective. He adds: "Did those rosy fingers twist the silken strands, and knot them with thought of the wearer? I wish you was loveing enough to tye some threads of your golden hair into the tossells, but I swear I cannot find never a one." The conjunction of two negatives in this manner was common usage a hundred years ago; while "you was" may be found in the writings of our greatest authors of that date.

In one attribute, women's footwear never varied in the two centuries of this book's recording. It was always thin-soled and of light material; never adequate for much "walking abroad" or for any wet weather. In fact, women have never worn heavy walking-boots until our own day. Whether high-heeled or no-heeled they were always thin.

The curious "needle-pointed" slippers which are pictured on page 375 were the bridal slippers at the wedding of Cornelia de Peyster, who married Oliver Teller in 1712. Several articles of her dress still exist; and the background of the slippers is a breadth of the superb yellow and silver brocade wedding gown worn at the same time.

When we have the tiny pages of the few newspapers to turn to, we learn a little of women's shoes. There were advertisements in 1740 of "mourning shoes," "fine silk shoes," "flowered russet shoes," "white callimanco shoes," "black shammy shoes," "girls' flowered russet shoes," "shoes of black velvet, white damask, red morocco, and red everlasting." "Damask worsted shoes in red, blue, green, pink color and white," in 1751. There were satinet patterns for ladies' shoes embroidered with flowers in the vamp. The heels were "high, cross-cut, common, court, and wurtemburgh." Some shoes were white with russet bands. "French fall" shoes were worn both by women and men for many years.

On page 382 is a pair of beautiful brocade wedding shoes. The heels are not high. Another pair was made of the silken stuff of the beautiful sacque

Mrs. Abigail Bromfield Rogers.

worn by Mrs. Carroll. These have high heels running down to a very small heel-base. In the works of Hogarth we may find many examples of women's shoes. In all the old shoes I have seen, made about the time of the American Revolution, the maker's name is within and this legend, "Rips

Mrs. Carroll's Slippers.

mended free." Many heels were much higher and smaller than any given in this book.

It is astonishing to read the advocacy and eulogy given by sensible gentlemen to these extreme heels. Watson, the writer of the *Annals of Philadelphia*, extolled their virtues — that they threw the weight of the wearer on the ball of the foot and spread it

out for a good support. He deplores the flat feet of 1830.

In 1790 heels disappeared; sandal-shapes were the mode. The quarters were made low, and instead of a buckle was a tiny bow or a pleated ribbon edging. In 1791 "the exact size" of the shoe of the Duchess of York was published — a fashionable fad which our modern sensation hunters have not bethought themselves of. It was $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length; the breadth of sole, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It was a colored print, and shows that the lady's shoe was of green silk spotted with gold stars, and bound with scarlet silk. The sole is thicker at the back, forming a slight uplift which was not strictly a heel. Of course, this was a tiny foot, but we do not know the height of the duchess.

I have seen the remains of a charming pair of court shoes worn in France by a pretty Boston girl. These had been embroidered with paste jewels, "diamonds"; while to my surprise the back seam of both shoes was outlined with paste emeralds. I find that this was the mode of the court of Marie Antoinette. The queen and her ladies wore these in real jewels, and in affectation wore no jewels elsewhere.

In Mrs. Gaskell's *My Lady Ludlow* we are told that my lady would not sanction the mode of the beginning of the century which "made all the fine ladies take to making shoes." Mrs. Blundell, in one of her novels, sets her heroine (about 1805) at shoe-making. The shoes of that day were very thin of material, very simple of shape, were heelless, and

in many cases closely approached a sandal. A pair worn by my great-aunt at that date is shown on this page. American women certainly had tiny feet. This aunt was above the average height, but her shoes are no larger than the number known to-day as "Ones" — a size about large enough for a girl ten years old.

It was not long after English girls were making shoes that Yankee girls were shaping and binding

White Kid Slippers. 1815.

them in New England. I have seen several old letters which gave rules for shaping and directions for sewing party-shoes of thin light kid and silk. It is not probable that any heavy materials were ever made up by women at home. Sandals also were worn, and made by girls for their own wear from bits of morocco and kid.

In the early years of the century the thin, silk hose and low slippers of the French fashions proved almost unendurable in our northern winters. One wearer of the time writes, "Many a time have I walked Broadway when the pavement sent almost a death chill to my heart." The Indians then furnished an article of dress which must have been grateful indeed,

pretty moccasins edged with fur, to be worn over the thin slippers.

An old lady recalled with precision that the first boots for women's wear came in fashion in 1828; they were laced at the side. Garters and boots both had fringes at the top.

# Two Centuries of Costume in America

Vol. II

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CAPTAIN WILLIAM RICKETTS, WIFE, AND INFANT DAUGHTER . . . . . *Frontispiece*

This is an unusual example, not only of the genius of Gainsborough, but of the charm of youth. The complacent boy-father in officer's blue and buff, so satisfied with himself, so proud of the pretty girlish mother, all in pale blue and white, like a sunny summer sky; vain, too, of his chubby, dark-haired baby, so much more sturdy than either parent; the very essence and spirit of youth seems painted in these three figures. This portrait has had the quietest, the most secluded of histories; it has never left the family of its first owner. No account, or even notice, of it has been printed. The wife was Sarah Livingstone, daughter of Van Brugh Livingstone, of New York. The little daughter grew up and married William Palmer, of England. The portrait is now owned by Mrs. Angela Turner Toland, of Washington, D.C.

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WILLIAM BYRD, OF WESTOVER ON THE JAMES, VA. . . 395

Born, 1674; died, 1744. He was the author of the valuable *Byrd Papers*, *A Journey to the Mines*, etc. This portrait hangs now at Lower Brandon on the James. The copy in Richmond, Va., has had legs and feet added — not to the advantage of the portrait.

PHILLIS WHEATLEY . . . . . 399

Born, in Africa, 1735; died, in Boston, 1794. She was a servant in the Wheatley family, and after she became the author of some much-admired verse, she was therefrom a social lion in little provincial Boston.

JAMES BOWDOIN . . . . . *facing* 402

Born, in Boston, Mass., 1727; died, in Boston, in 1790. He was therefore just of age when this fine portrait was painted, by Robert Feke, in 1748. He became governor of Massachusetts in 1786; and he founded Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Me. This portrait hangs in the Walker Art Building of Bowdoin College. The coat is of rich claret-colored velvet. The waistcoat, gold colored with embossed velvet border.

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This was the dress wear of officers in the English Navy, 1750.

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COURT SUIT OF GENERAL THOMAS PINCKNEY . *facing* 420
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PETER MANIGAULT . . . . . *facing* 424
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Afterwards Mrs. Russel. Owned by Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

SACQUE . . . . . *facing* 475
This sacque-shaped gown was worn as a court-dress by the wife of "Barrister" Carroll, of Baltimore, Va. It is worn in the photograph, and now owned, by the great-grandniece of Mrs. Carroll, Miss Sarah Chamberlaine Tighlman, of Baltimore, Md. The sacque is of very heavy soft silk damask, cream-colored, with brocaded flowers of light blue, pink, and the favorite raisin hues. It is trimmed with a gold galloon in which are woven knots and designs of silks in the color of the flowers.

MARTHA CUSTIS . . . . . 475
Martha Dandridge was born in 1731; married Daniel Parke Custis in 1747; was widowed in 1757; married George Washington in 1759; died, 1802. This portrait, painted in 1758, while she was the widow of Mr. Custis, is by John Woolaston. It is now owned by General George Washington Custis Lee, of Lexington, Va.

MRS. JOSEPH SCOTT . . . . . *facing* 476
Her maiden name was Freelove Olney, of Providence, R.I. She died in 1815. Her husband was the last royal colonel of the Cadets. Painted by Copley. Owned by George Scott Winslow, Esq., of Boston, Mass.

BROCADE GOWN . . . . . 479
This gown, with its striped silk petticoat, was worn by Mrs. John Clarke in 1750. She was Sarah Pickering, of Salem, Mass. See *Pickering Genealogy*, Vol. I, p. 111. The gown is owned by Francis H. Lee, Esq., of Salem.

YELLOW BROCADE GOWN . . . . . *facing* 480
This interesting dress was one of three lengths of heavy silk, which were made from silkworms reared by Mrs. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of Charleston, S.C. Her maiden name was Eliza Lucas. She also spun the silken thread, and had the brocade woven therefrom. One dress was given to Queen Charlotte, who wore it at her drawing-room; the other made a nightgown for Lord Chesterfield. This, the third, was worn at the English court, and has always been carefully preserved. It is worn in the photograph by Alice Rutledge Reese, great-great-great-granddaughter of Mrs. Pinckney, the maker and first wearer of the gown.

FLY-FRINGE . . . . . 481
A little edging or gimp worn during the reigns of George II and George III, but peculiarly in fashion about 1760. The little knots were of floss silk, and were fastened to a central cord in groups of two knots alternating with four knots.

MRS. RALPH IZARD . . . . . 483
A miniature by Malbone.

DRESS OF MRS. DANIEL HORRY . . . . *facing* 484
Worn in the photograph by her great-granddaughter.

MR. AND MRS. RALPH IZARD, OF CHARLESTON, S.C. *facing* 486
Her name was Anne de Lancey, of New York. She was a great-granddaughter of Sir Nathaniel Johnson. Painted by Copley, in Rome, in 1774.

CAPS WITH RIBBON RUCHES . . . . . 486
These were known as the "dormouse" or the "dormeuse"; being labelled in plates both dormeuse and dormice.

MRS. LIVINGSTONE . . . . . *facing* 488

STOMACHER WITH APRON . . . . . 488
Worn by Eleanor Calvert, Maryland. Photographed by Miss Rebecca L. Webster.

MRS. JUDITH BOWDOIN FLUCKER . . . *facing* 490
This portrait, painted in 1748, now hangs in the Walker Art Building, of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

LADY TEMPLE . . . . . *facing* 492
Her name was Augusta Bowdoin. This fine pastel is by Copley, and with the companion portrait of her husband is owned by W. T. Tappan, Esq., of Bound Brook, N.J. It resembles strongly her portrait as a child.

BLUE STAYS WITH WHITE KID WELTS . . . . 493
Owned by Miss Philbrick, of Salem, Mass.

FANS AND PIECE OF BROCADE GOWN . . . . . 495
Worn by Mrs. John Adams. The articles of dress shown in this book which were once owned and worn by Mrs. Adams have been bequeathed to the present owner (Miss Susan E. Osgood, of Salem) by the wife of Rev. Joseph Felt, of Salem, Mass. He wrote that treasure-house of ancient lore, the *Annals of Salem*. Mrs. Felt was a niece of Mrs. Adams.

OLD PAINTED KID FAN . . . . . 496
Owned by Miss Mary Coates, of Philadelphia, Pa.

CARVED IVORY FAN . . . . . 498
Owned by Miss Sarah N. Coates, of Philadelphia, Pa. The fan bears the initials, "S. N. C.," of the original owner, a great-aunt for whom the present owner was named.

MRS. BENJAMIN SMITH . . . . . *facing* 500
Her maiden name was Loughton. She is dressed in blue satin and white lace, with small cap. This portrait was painted by Jeremiah Theus, and is now owned by the South Carolina Art Association.

REBECCA TAYLOR ORNE . . . . . *facing* 502
Born in Lynn, Mass., in 1727. She was the wife of Timothy Orne, a rich Salem merchant. Her portrait was painted about 1747. Owned by Francis H. Lee, Esq., of Salem, Mass.

MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ . . . . . 506
Born, 1626; died, 1696. Her hair is dressed in "heart-breakers."

"PEGGY" CHAMPLIN . . . . . 510
Married Benjamin Mason, of Newport, R.I. A belle, a beauty, a patriot, and a Daughter of Liberty. She was a daughter of Colonel Christopher Champlin, and granddaughter of Abraham Redwood. This miniature is owned by her great-grandson, George Champlin Mason, Esq , of Germantown, Pa.

HEAD FROM PLOCACOSMOS . . . . . 511
By James Stewart, 1782.

LE BANDEAU D'AMOUR . . . . . 513
From *Plocacosmos*, by James Stewart, 1782. A treatise on hairdressing and morals.

MRS. ALEXANDER MCCOMB . . . . . 515
Her maiden name, Catherine Navarre, shows her descent from the king of Navarre. She was one of the belles of the Inauguration Ball, 1789, and died the same year, aged thirty-two, leaving nine children. Her hair is craped and powdered ; the gown is peach-colored brocade, with rich lace tucker. This miniature was painted by John Ramage ; it is owned by a great-granddaughter, Mrs. Daniel L. Trumbull, of Norwich, Conn.

MRS. DUTHILL . . . . . 516
By Saint Memin.

MACARONI HEAD-DRESS . . . . . 518
An old print with caricature of a Macaroni head-dress. The top of the sedan-chair is taken out to permit the rider to sit upright.

FRANCES CADWALADER, LADY ERSKINE . . *facing* 520
By Gilbert Stuart.

LADY KENNEDY . . . . . 519
By Saint Memin.

MRS. DE WITT CLINTON . . . . . 521
Wife of Governor Clinton. Drawn and engraved by Saint Memin in 1797.

LADY JOHNSON . . . . . 523
By Saint Memin.

MRS. COX IN CURLED WIG . . . . . 524
By Saint Memin, 1798.

CHILDREN OF COLONEL WILLIAM MOULTRIE . *facing* 524
By Coram.

MRS. OLIVER ORMSBY . . . . . 525
By Saint Memin.

SUSANNA ROWSON . . . . . 526
Born, 1762; died, 1824. Celebrated as a school teacher, actress, dramatist, and as the author of one of the first American novels, "Charlotte Temple."

MARY ABBY WILLING COALE . . . . . 527
Born, 1789. Daughter of Dr. Samuel Stringer Coale and Anne Hopkinson (sister of Francis the Signer). This pretty girlish head is by Saint Memin, when she was about twenty. It is owned by the Misses Coale, of Baltimore, Md. A charming portrait of her was painted by Sully in 1809.

HIGH COMB . . . . . 529
Portrait of Miss Wilson, 1808. Drawn and engraved by Saint Memin.

MATILDA HOFFMANN . . . . . 530
Miniature painted by Edward G. Malbone.

EDWARD HYDE, LORD CORNBURY . . . . . 536
Afterwards third Earl of Clarendon. This is in woman's dress.

CHILDREN OF JAMES II OF ENGLAND . . *facing* 538
Painted in 1695 when the prince was seven years old; and the poor little princess weighed down with matronly garments was scarce three years old. In the National Portrait Gallery.

MARY MARSHALL . . . . . 539
Mother of Chief Justice Marshall.

MARY PHILIPSE . . . . . 540
Daughter of Frederick Philipse, third lord of the manor on the Hudson. She was born in 1730, died in 1825. She was about thirty and George Washington about five years younger when she refused his offer of marriage — so runs the story.

PRISCILLA WEBB ROPES. 1761 . . . . . 541
Owned by the Essex Institute, Salem.

SARAH HAMPSON . . . . . 543
Wife of Captain James Hampson, of Virginia.

MRS. SAMUEL BISHOP . . . . . *facing* 544
Wife of a prominent citizen of New Haven in Revolutionary times. Owned by the New Haven Historical Society.

MRS. ELIAS BOUDINOT . . . . . 546
Wife of the president of the Continental Congress, 1782.

MRS. JAMES DUANE . . . . . 548
By Charles Willson Peale. Owned by James C. Duane, Esq., of Staten Island.

DOROTHEA LYNDE DIX . . . . . *facing* 550
Born in Charlestown, Mass., in 1746; died in Worcester, Mass., in 1837. She was married in 1771 to Dr. Elijah Dix of Worcester; in which town their names are commemorated in the Lynde Brook Reservoir, Dix Street, and the famous Dix pear. The town of Dixmont, Me., was named for them. The famous philanthropist and reformer, of the same name, was a granddaughter of Madam Dix. Her daughter Mary married Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D., of Dorchester, whose eldest son was Thaddeus William Harris, M.D., "The American Entomologist," and the father of the present owner of the portrait, Miss Emma Forbes Harris, of Cambridge, Mass.

MRS. SAMUEL STRINGER COALE . . . . . 551
She was Anne Hopkinson, sister of Francis the Signer, and wife of Dr. Coale. This simple dignified costume is of the year 1806. The likeness is by Saint Memin. It is now owned by the Misses Coale, of Baltimore, Md.

MRS. FAITH SAVAGE WALDO . . . . . 553
Born, 1683; died, 1760. Her husband was Cornelius Waldo.

MRS. REBECCA SALISBURY WALDO . . . . . 555
She married Daniel Waldo. Born in Boston, 1731; died in Worcester, 1811. She was a fine, high-spirited, witty woman, whose sayings are still told among her descendants. The artist is unknown, but I believe him to be the same as the painter of the portrait of her neighbor and relative, Mrs. Dorothea Lynde Dix.

MRS. ROBERT MORRIS . . . . . *facing* 556
She was married in 1766, and died in 1824. The story of her life and her husband's is one of the most marked exhibitions of financial and social reverses that America can furnish. This portrait is by Charles Willson Peale. It is in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

MRS. ABRAHAM REDWOOD ELLERY . . . . . 558
Painted about 1812.

MRS. ARMIRA WILSON TYLER . . . . . 559
Born, 1780; married Stephen Tyler, of Winsted, Conn., in 1805; died in 1856. This portrait was painted, in 1820, by an artist named Phillips. It is owned by Mrs. Edmund Munson, Winsted, Conn. The cap and kerchief are well painted.

MRS. ADAM . . . . . 561
By Saint Memin.

MRS. ROBERT EGLESFIELD GRIFFITH . . . *facing* 562
Her maiden name was Maria Thong Patterson. This was painted by Gilbert Stuart, in 1797, when she was twenty-three years old. It is owned by Manuel E. Griffith, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pa.

MRS. HARRIET PORCHER . . . . . 564
Painted by Sully. Owned by Mrs. Edward W. Hughes, of Charleston, S.C.

CHARLOTTE HESSELIUS . . . . . *facing* 568
First wife of Thomas Jennings Johnson. She was the daughter of John Hesselius, the portrait painter. Painted by a French miniaturist named Escois. It is an exquisite miniature, wonderful in the delicacy of its coloring. The golden-tinted hair fairly shines. It is now owned by her great-granddaughters, the Misses Evans, of Baltimore, Md.

MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH . . . . . *facing* 570
Wife of William Smith, of Jamaica, Long Island. Daughter of President John Adams. This portrait was painted by Mather Brown of Boston. Owned by Brooks Adams, Esq., of Boston, Mass.

LEGHORN HAT AND BONNET . . . . . 572
Brought from Italy about 1805. Owned by Miss Alice Browne, Salem, Mass.

LAVINIA HAT . . . . . 573
From portrait of Viscount Andover.

THREE RIDING HATS. 1786–1790 . . . . . 575
From *Town and Country*.

BONNETS OF 1810 . . . . . 576
The Gypsy, Beehive, Polish fly-cap, and Cottage bonnets.

BONNETS OF 1805 . . . . . 577
These are the Beehive, of straw; the Hamlet bonnet, of straw over a white net; Foundling cap; the Circassian bonnet, of soft white silk; the Cottage bonnet, of chip trimmed with blue ribbon; and the Installation cap, of green velvet with gold bands. These are from fashion plates of that year.

THE POLISH CASQUETTE . . . . . 578
Known as the Bolivar and the Military riding hat. This is a portrait of the sister of Saint Memin, the artist.

GREEN SILK SUNBONNET . . . . . 580
Owned by author. This has welts into which are run stout rattan reeds, which hold the bonnet in shape. Green silk and green barége (an almost obsolete thin woollen stuff for summer wear) were the favored materials for shirred sunbonnets.

CALASH OR BASHFUL BONNET . . . . . 581
Owned by Bucks County Historical Society.

SLAT SUNBONNET . . . . . 582
These were made of two thicknesses of stout calico or jean, into which were slipped slats of board, whalebone, or pasteboard, which were sewed in place. The slats were removed when the bonnet was washed. This sunbonnet is in the collection of the Bucks County Historical Society.

OLD POCKETS . . . . . 586
Owned in Salem, Mass. The smallest is of linen embroidered in crewels. Two are of white dimity embroidered. The largest, which was a popular shape, is of figured "chiney" (a heavy cotton stuff).

A PAIR OF POCKETS . . . . . 587
Owned by Miss Mary Atkinson, Doyleston, Pa.

MRS. WALTER STEWART . . . . . 589
Her maiden name was Deborah M. Clenahan. This portrait by Charles Willson Peale is deemed one of his masterpieces. It is owned by John B. Church, Esq., of Geneva, N. Y.

MRS. WILLIAM JACKSON . . . . . *facing* 590
Daughter of Thomas Willing. Married Major Jackson, aide-de-camp to Washington. This masterpiece of Gilbert Stuart's, called by many his best portrait, is owned by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

BEAD CHAIN . . . . . 591
Fine white beads with rosebuds.

BEAD BAGS . . . . . 593
Owned by author.

ELIZABETH FRY . . . . . *facing* 600
Born in Norfolk, Eng., in 1780. Died at Ramsgate, Eng., in 1845. Her maiden name was Elizabeth Gurney. She was an "acceptable minister in the Society of Friends, a leading philanthropist, and the successful promoter of prison reform in England." This portrait was painted by George Richmond in 1824. The gown is a soft brown; the shawl is pearl color; the kerchief and cap pure white.

QUAKER HATS . . . . . 602
These two fine specimens of Quaker hats of the early years of the nineteenth century are owned in Doylestown, Pa. The straw hat is owned by the Bucks County Historical Society. The white beaver hat is owned by Miss Lizzie Barber.

QUAKER BONNETS . . . . . 607
Owned by Mrs. T. O. Atkinson, of Doylestown, Pa.

THE GALLERY OF THE MEETING-HOUSE . . . . 612
Photographed by Mary F. C. Paschall.

FOOT-MANTLE . . . . . 616
This is an old drawing in the sixteenth century used as an illustration for the *Wife of Bath* in the *Canterbury Tales.*

THOMAS CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY, IN A FOOT-CLOTH *facing* 618
Born, 1529; died, 1590. A great English statesman; Secretary of State under Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. This portrait is in the Bodleian Library.

RIDING-DRESS OF 1784 . . . . . 621
From *Town and Country.*

MRS. THOMSON IN RIDING-DRESS . . . . *facing* 622
Mrs. Hannah Harrison Thomson. Painted in 1776. Owned by Mrs. Robert Webster McPherson, of Washington, D.C.

THE AMAZONE. 1808 . . . . . 626
Scarlet cloth with gold buttons and cord. From an old fashion-plate.

GLENGARRY HABIT. 1820 . . . . . 627
Light blue broadcloth, with silver lace and frogs. Hat of interlaced strips of cork. From an old fashion-plate.

WEDDING GOWN . . . . . 632
Worn by Dorothy Leverett at the time of her marriage to Lieutenant-Colonel John Denison of Salem, Mass. Worn also by a bride of later years, who threw it out of her window, jumped after it, and was married in it to the man of her choice. It is owned by a granddaughter of the seventh generation, Mrs. William C. West, of Salem, Mass.

BRIDEGROOM'S HAT AND BRIDE'S BONNET OF PINK SILK PLUSH . . . . . 633
Worn about 1810 by members of the Abbott family of Salem, Mass. Owned by Miss Charlotte Chase, Salem, Mass.

PINK SILK AND PINK PLUSH WEDDING COAT . *facing* 634
Worn with the bride's bonnet pictured on page 633. Owned by Miss Charlotte Chase, Salem, Mass.

WEDDING GOWN . . . . . 636
This splendid dress was worn by Jane Porter at her marriage in 1736 to Reverend John Sparhawk, who was minister of the First Church of Salem. It is a superb brocade with red, blue, and raisin-colored flowers in a basket and green fern leaves and even treelike forms. It forms the design for the end papers of this book. Owned by Mrs. Katherine Phillips, of Salem, Mass.

WHITE LACE WEDDING VEIL . . . . . 637
Owned by the author.

BRIDAL HAIR COMBS. 1820 . . . . . 638
These are of fine tortoise-shell richly carved.

THREE NIGHTCAPS AND DRESS CAP OF A SALEM BRIDE . 640

BRIDAL DRESS . . . . . 641
From *Ackerman's Repository*, April 2, 1818. Neither veil nor orange blossoms were worn. Gown of white crape, with robings of crape.

WEDDING PARASOLS . . . . . 644
Part of a bridal outfit of 1808, in Salem, Mass. Owned by Miss Cleveland, of Salem, Mass.

DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND, IN WIDOW'S WEEDS . . . 652
It is somewhat amusing when we recall the wedded life of this fair dame to find her garbed in trappings of woe for her husband; but she was old when this portrait was painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller in 1707. She was born in 1640 and died in 1709. A black domino is over a full white coif, which is shaped like a commode. This portrait is in the National Portrait Gallery.

LADY RACHEL RUSSELL, IN WIDOW'S DRESS . . . . 653
Born, 1641. Died, 1728. The story of her devotion to her husband is one of never-dying interest.

MRS. STEPHEN SEWALL, IN WIDOW'S WEEDS. 1726 . . 655
Her husband died in 1725. Her coif has a white-quilled "widow's peak," with the heavy black domino over it.

"HAIR-PAINTED" JEWELRY . . . . . 657
Locket and bracelet clasps, set with fine pearls. Owned by Miss Harriet Lee, Salem, Mass.

DOLL DRESSED LIKE MRS. BOWDITCH. 1770 . . . . 664
Mrs. Bowditch, of Salem, Mass., was the mother of Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, and her elegance and fashion so impressed a maid who had been in attendance upon the ladies at a ball that she dressed this doll the following day to preserve (and doubtless also to communicate to less favored dames and damsels) the full details of this admired costume of pink silk and net.

FRENCH FASHION BABY . . . . . 666
Brought from Paris in early years of nineteenth century, and said to be dressed like the Empress Josephine. The gown is yellow silk. The stockings are of yellow silk beautifully woven to fit. The kid slippers are carefully shaped. The doll is about two feet high. Owned by Miss Susan E. Osgood, of Salem, Mass.

FASHION BABIES. 1818. . . . . 667

CUT-PAPER PATTERN . . . . . 670
From *Ackermann's Repository.*

MISS JANE BUTTERFIELD, IN HER TRIAL FOR MURDER . 673
Drawn from life for the *Lady's Magazine*, September 1, 1775.

MRS. MARGARET CAROLINE RUDD . . . . . 675
Engraved for the *Town and Country Magazine*, September 16, 1775, as she stood in the Old Bailey Dock on trial for forgery. She wears a silk sacque open over a flounced petticoat. Both are trimmed with serpentine robings in a pattern which was then very fashionable. Her gauze and velvet "head"; her little mantle, her loose gloves, all make an elegant costume.

RUFFLED LEVITE, ON MRS. RUDD . . . . . 677

MRS. RUDD . . . . . 679
From an old print.

SPOTTED LACE HEAD . . . . . 680
Drawn for *European Magazine*, 1775. Worn by Mrs. Rudd during her trial for forgery.

TWO CUTS FROM "DIRECTIONS FOR MUSTERS." 1638 . . 686

BANDOLEER . . . . . 687
This shows the construction of the single case, with cover slipping on the hanging cord. Also the leather belt, with hanging bandoleer and pouch.

WILLIAM PENN . . . . . 688
Born in 1644; died in England in 1718. This portrait was painted when Penn was twenty-two years old. It is now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

SIR NATHANIEL JOHNSON . . . . . 689
"Ætatis 61, Aprill 27, 1705." He was appointed governor of South Carolina by the Lords Proprietors in 1702. The artist is unknown. Owned by Henry L. Barker, Esq., Oakley, S.C.

SLEEVE OF BUFF-COAT . . . . . 690
This is the sleeve worn by Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, in the only known portrait of an officer of Cromwell's army, painted in his uniform.

FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP . . . . . 691
Born in Ipswich, Mass., 1639; died in Boston, 1707. Son of John Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut. Governor of Connecticut in 1698–1707. Photographed by Herbert Randall for the *Biographies of the Governors of Connecticut*, by Frederick Calvin Norton. The original, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, was painted while Winthrop was in England with the Parliamentary army.

WELLINGTON HAT . . . . . 693
This is worn by General Jacob Brown, made commander-in-chief of the army of the United States after his distinguished service in the War of 1812.

DANIEL BOONE . . . . . 695
Born in Bucks County, Pa., in 1735; died in Missouri in 1820. He was "the Kentucky Pioneer." This portrait is by Trumbull.

UNIFORM OF CONTINENTAL OFFICER . . . . . 698
This is a portrait of Alexander Hamilton.

COCKED HATS WITH COCKADES . . . . . 699
These are from portraits of General Anthony Wayne and Colonel Marinus Willetts of the Continental army. Painted by Trumbull.

JOHN ANDRÉ . . . . . 700
A British major in the Revolutionary War; born in London, 1751; captured as a British spy and executed at Tappan, N.Y., 1780.

COLONEL CLAIBORNE (WILLIAM G. P.) . . . . . 701
An officer in the War of 1812. His portrait is given to show the high collar and stock of the year 1815. This is from a miniature by A. Duval.

MRS. ANNE JONES . . . . . 708
Born, 1735; died, 1817. She was Anne de Lancey, daughter of James de Lancey, governor of New York. Married Thomas Jones. This was painted in 1791 by B. Arnold.

MRS. REBECCA BLODGET. 1790 . . . . . 709
Painted by Gilbert Stuart. Owned by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

NEEDLE-WROUGHT LACE VEIL . . . . . 710
Owned by author.

EMBROIDERED NECKERCHIEF. 1800 . . . . . 711

LADY HARRIET ACLAND . . . . . 713
By Sir Joshua Reynolds. Daughter of Stephen Fox, Earl of Ilchester, and niece of the first Lord Holland. She was the sister of Lady Susan O'Brien and Lady Lucy Digby; they are the three sisters in the famous picture, *Beauties of Holland House.*

LADY HARRIET ACLAND . . . . . 714
In white cap and Unella cloak.

"DOROTHY Q." HANCOCK . . . . . *facing* 714
Wife of John Hancock. Painted by Copley. Now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

EMBROIDERED SILK APRON . . . . . 715

MERCY WARREN . . . . . *facing* 716
Born, 1728; died, 1814. Sister of the unfortunate patriot James Otis. A poet, dramatist, historian, and patriot. This portrait is painted by Copley, and owned by Winslow Warren, Esq., Dedham, Mass.

ANCIENT STAYS . . . . . 723

MARY HOPKINSON MORGAN . . . . . *following* 724
Daughter of Judge Thomas Hopkinson, and sister of Francis Hopkinson the Signer, and wife of Dr. John Morgan. This portrait was painted by Sir Benjamin West. It is owned by the Misses Coale, Baltimore, Md.

DR. JOHN MORGAN . . . . . *following* 724
Born in Philadelphia in 1733, died in 1789. He studied medicine in Edinburgh, and became acquainted with Voltaire, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke, and Angelica Kaufmann, who painted this portrait. He was somewhat of a Macaroni in dress, as he carried an umbrella. He wears in the portrait a dark green coat with cuffs, linings, and revers of bright ecru; light waistcoat; and black solitaire. This portrait is owned by D. T. Watson, Esq., of Pittsburgh, Pa.

ESTHER DUCHÉ . . . . . 727
Painted in London in 1783 by Thomas Duché, her brother, a pupil of Benjamin West. Both were children of Rev. Jacob Duché (the first Chaplain of Congress) and his wife, Elizabeth Hopkinson, sister of Francis the Signer. Esther Duché married William Hill. This portrait is owned by the Misses Coale, of Baltimore, Md.

MARTHA WASHINGTON . . . . . *facing* 728
In a cap called "The Queen's Nightcap."

GENERAL CADWALADER, WIFE, AND CHILD . *facing* 732
Now owned by Dr. Charles E. Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, Pa.

NELLIE CUSTIS . . . . . *facing* 734
Granddaughter of Mrs. George Washington. Married Lawrence Lewis. This portrait by Gilbert Stuart shows a dress of beautiful simplicity befitting a young girl. Nearly all the engravings from it, such as the one in Griswold's *Republican Court*, have had elbow-ruffles added and ruffles round the collars and various cheap adornments.

MRS. JOSEPH HOPPER NICHOLSON . . . . . 735
By Richard Cosway. Her name was Rebecca Lloyd. This miniature is owned by Mrs. Edward Shippen, of Baltimore, Md.

ELIZABETH RUSSELL JOHNSON . . . . . 736
Second wife of Thomas Jennings Johnson. She is the child in the portrait of Mrs. Elizabeth Lux Russell and daughter. Owned by Mrs. Henry Rogers, Baltimore, Md.

MARCIA BURNS . . . . . *facing* 736
Married John van Ness, Member of Congress from New York; she resided in Washington, where her name is known and honored for her abiding charities. Dated 1797. Painted by one of the Peales.

MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH . . . . . 737
Daughter of John Adams. By Copley.

EMBROIDERED PLUM-COLORED CRAPE GOWN . . . 738
Worn by Mrs. John Adams. Owned by Miss Susan E. Osgood, Salem, Mass.

MRS. GILMOUR . . . . . *facing* 738
She was Miss Ladson, of Charleston, S.C.

COLONEL BROWN . . . . . 746
By Saint Memin.

MRS. JAMES MONROE . . . . . 747
Born, 1768; died, 1830. Her name was Elizabeth Kortright. This picture was painted by Sir Benjamin West. Owned by Mrs. Gouveneur, Washington, D.C.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH AND WIFE . . . . *facing* 748
This portrait was painted in a room in their house in Windsor, Conn., while through the window may be seen a view of the house with its thirteen elms, named for the states. The house, room, and even the carpet still remain untouched. Painted by Ralph Earle.

ST. GEORGE TUCKER . . . . . 748
Born in Bermuda in 1752; died in Virginia in 1827. He married Mrs. Randolph, the mother of John Randolph, of Roanoke. He was poet, jurist, and soldier. He was judge of one of the higher courts, and was called "The American Blackstone."

WALTER ORMSBY IN WHITE WIG . . . . . 749
By Saint Memin.

C. S. KONIG, L. TRIPLETT, F. EDLITZ, GUY L. TRIGG . 751
Engraved by Saint Memin. These heads are *à la Titus*.

F. BEALE . . . . . 753
By Saint Memin.

WASHINGTON ALLSTON IN YOUTH . . . . . 754
Born in Waccamaw, S.C., in 1779; died in Cambridge, Mass., in 1843. He graduated at Harvard in 1800, and must have painted this portrait of himself at about that date. It is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

MRS. BELL . . . . . 756
By Saint Memin.

MRS. CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY . . *facing* 756
Painted by Thomas Sully. Owned by Miss M. E. Pinckney, of Blowing Rock, N.C.

ELIZA SOUTHGATE BOWNE . . . . . 757
Born in Portland, Me., 1783; died in Charleston, S.C., in 1808. Married Walter Bowne in 1803. This miniature is not as beautiful or natural as the lovely miniature by Malbone, which is in the published collection of her letters; but I have chosen this, as it has not been published before.

MRS. JAMES BOWDOIN . . . . . 758
This fine portrait, painted by Gilbert Stuart, now hangs in the Walker Art Building of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. Simple white gown with double neck-ruff, and a fine white lace veil over the head.

LORENZO DOW AND PEGGY DOW . . . *facing* 758
He was an eccentric preacher who conducted revivals in the first years of the nineteenth century.

BOLIVAR HAT . . . . . 759

LINEN AND WOOL HAND-WROUGHT MITTS . . . . 760

THOMAS TEACH, THE PIRATE (BLACKBEARD) . . . 764
From Johnson's *Lives of Pirates*, published 1737.

A SAILOR AND HIS SWEETHEART . . . . . 765
An old print given to show the pigtail and trousers of the sailor and the Duke of York nightcap of the damsel.

ADOLPHUS LEFFINGWELL, AGED FOURTEEN YEARS *facing* 766
Painted about 1815. Now owned by New Haven Historical Society.

PLAYING GOLF. 1810 . . . . . 768
From an old print.

BOY'S TUNIC AND TROUSERS. 1810 . . . *facing* 770
From old fashion-plate. The mother carries a pagoda parasol and reticule.

EVENING DRESS. 1811 . . . . . *facing* 774
From an old fashion-plate. This is, perhaps, the ugliest dress ever worn by woman.

OSGOOD CHILDREN . . . . . *facing* 776
This family group was painted in 1828 by Charles Osgood of Salem, Mass., when he was nineteen years old. The four children are his brothers and sisters. Lucy, thirteen years old, is holding Edward, who is three and a half years old. Caroline, in a bonnet, is eleven, and Robert, in trousers, is seven. It is a quaint portrait of childish dress when the changes had become distinctly established. Owned by Miss Susan Osgood, Salem, Mass.

MRS. JOHN JAY, SON, AND DAUGHTER . . . *facing* 778
Mrs. Jay was daughter of Governor Livingstone. Owned by Colonel Jay.

THE STODDERT CHILDREN . . . . . *facing* 780
Painted by Charles Willson Peale. Owned by the granddaughter of the little baby, Mrs. Harriott Stoddert Turner, of Washington, D.C.

DOLLY MADISON, WIFE OF PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON . 784

MRS. MADISON IN OLD AGE . . . . . 787
She wears the turban which her approval made fashionable and kept fashionable in America, and which she wore throughout her life. Her gown is white satin. There are many portraits of her; a group of them would form an excellent history of modes.

OPERA DRESS . . . . . 789
Fashion-plate from *Ackerman's Repository*. The woman wears a chemise dress. The girl is in chemise slip and pantalets.

MRS. RICHARD C. DERBY . . . . . *facing* 790
Born, 1783; married, 1800; died, 1832. She was Martha Coffin, ninth child of Dr. Nathaniel Coffin, of Portland, Me. Mr. and Mrs. Derby died childless. This portrait was painted by Copley in 1806. It is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and is owned by Miss Marjorie Crane Appleton, great-grandniece of Mrs. Derby.

MRS. JOHN RIDGELY . . . . . *facing* 792
By Sully. This masterpiece hangs in the great hall at Hampton, the residence of Mrs. John Ridgely, near Baltimore, Md.

TURBAN BROOCHES AND FERRONNIÈRE . . . . . 792
These were worn in 1820 to 1825. The gold and ruby turban brooch pinned on a bit of ribbon is owned by Miss Sarah Osgood, of Salem, Mass. The ferronnière is of Venetian gold chain, with six spinel rubies set with pearls. It is owned by Miss Harriet Lee, of Salem, Mass., who also owns the turban pin below, of fine jet.

GOWN, HAT, AND SLIPPERS WORN BY CARIA ROBBINS . 798
Now in Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

PLUM-COLORED KID MITTS . . . . . 799
Worn by Mrs. Abigail Robbins. Such mitts were common, for Mrs. Warder records her search in Philadelphia in 1770 for "leather mitts." Now in Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

TWO SPENCERS . . . . . 800
Part of Caria Robbins's outfit in 1812. The silk spencer is of blue-green silk. The other is of heavy brown and white cotton stuff, and was for morning wear. Now in Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE . . . . . *facing* 800
Painted by Professor S. B. F. Morse in 1824–1825. In New York City Hall.

SWANSDOWN STOLE . . . . . 801
This stole and a number like it were brought from Russia to Salem in 1800. They are so firmly made and dressed that they have been washed as white cotton cloth would be. They are alike on both sides. They have graced the necks of several generations of pretty Salem girls.

WALKING-COSTUMES, WITH MUFFS . . . . . 803
From old fashion-plates.

EMBROIDERED LINEN AND LACE CAPES . . . . . 804
Owned by Dr. Charles Schauffler, Philadelphia, Pa.

MRS. DANIEL WEBSTER . . . . . *facing* 804
Painted by Chester Harding. Now owned by Mrs. Reginald Foster, of Boston, Mass.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD CLOTHES . . . *facing* 806
Photographed by Mrs. Eva E. Newell, Plantsville, Conn.

# CHAPTER XV

## THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

"*Our Tailors know*
*How best to set apparel out to show.*
*It either shall be gathered, stitcht, or laced,*
*Else plaited, printed, jag'd, or cut and raced,*
*Or any way according to your taste.*"

—"Satires," GEORGE WITHER, 1613.

"*My mind very busy thinking of my great layings out lately and what they must still be for clothes; but I hope it is in order of my getting of something the more by it; for I perceive how I have hitherto suffered for lack of going as becomes my place. I being resolved to go handsomer than I have hitherto. I hope I shall get better success than when for want of clothes I was forced to sneak like a beggar. Thus I end. For Clothes I perceive more and more every day is a great matter.*"

—"Diary," SAMUEL PEPYS, December 28, 1664.

# Two Centuries of Costume

## CHAPTER XV

### THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

IT has ever seemed to me that England and America under the three Georges, especially in the middle of the eighteenth century, fell on very dull days; it was all dull indeed till the Revolution came to enliven things. Everything was dull — history, literature, art, architecture, and almost dress, "our greatest recreation." I am confirmed in this notion by the difficulty I find in gathering anything new to tell about dress at that time.

The whole mid-century in whatever point you search seems stationary. Nothing was active but politics, hence men in political life were more important than many better men. The governors of the American provinces held much-sought-after positions. Religious interest was dormant if not declining in England, though Burton and Berkeley lived; in America a revival of religious feeling was sorely needed and prayed for — so states Jonathan Edwards. Art had no triumphs; there were portrait-painters in enough numbers to tell us of

costume, but not to paint great pictures. Hogarth wrote that Art ever reflected the times; it was not great when the events of the day were small. Trade and agriculture did not advance; both were hampered by forestalling and regrating, by lotteries, by disastrous land speculations. Science offered no successors to Newton. There was little poetry, but there was a charming prose literature — and to that prose we owe all we have of interest in the period.

Governor William Burnet.

We see city life at this time in Hogarth's crowded perspectives; but it was not always gay and rollicking and cheerful in every London street and at all times, any more than all English country life was that of Sir Roger de Coverley. Hogarth has revealed to us also the dark corners and yawning holes, the want and cruelty, the heartlessness, misery, and vice. Life in London was not always cheery, as in Horace Walpole's letters — "a brilliant jigging, smirking Vanity Fair, with fiddles singing, where all is sparkle and glitter;

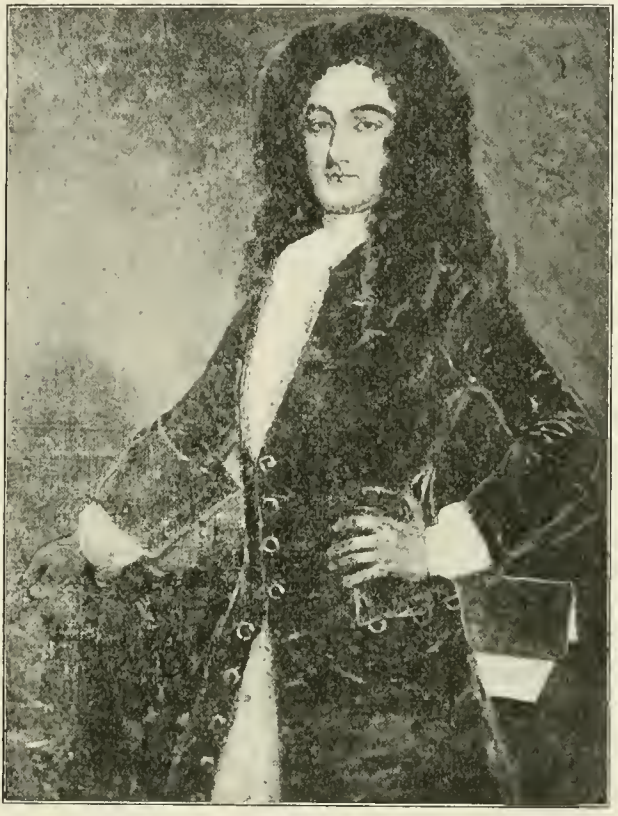
wax lights, fine dresses, fine jokes, fine plate, fine equipages." There was formality enough and wickedness enough, and there was rich dress enough in America as in London, yet life here was positively dull. Occasionally the smooth little placid pond of provincial society was agitated cheerfully by the breeze of some welcome and not too wicked scandal, such as the life of Sir Harry Frankland and Agnes Surriage, this being a scandal full of color and picturesque of detail. Sometimes there was the diversion of a little campaign against the Indians, or even a single theatrical battle such as that of Louisburg, an episode ever so unreal to me, so like a stage battle, that I turn from the officer actors and the regiment chorus to the one real figure, that of the pious, praying gentleman, a New England magistrate, who was sworn to solemn secrecy for a term of days until certain difficult preliminaries for the war were accomplished and supplies bought, a magistrate who kept his word and the secret in solemn and silent importance, save that, when moved to prayer on a hot summer's night, he prayed so loud and so long and in so detailed a manner for guidance that he, in our expressive modern slang, "gave the whole thing away." And there are certain adventurers who give a bright and unwonted color to the calm expanse of provincial days. Here is the Princess Carolina Matilda, Duchess of Brownstonburges, transported for stealing from the queen, but masquerading, nevertheless, from colony to colony richly dressed, bearing jewelled miniatures of the royal family, and then being

caught by the sheriff and whipped at the post. Here is the romantic Russian Princess Christine buried for dead and coming to life in America with a new husband.

Here is Elizabeth Canning, the most famous woman swindler the world has ever known. All London was wild over her case. Thousands of bets were made upon her; thousands of pounds changed hands. She was transported in 1753, but the truth was never definitely decided to the satisfaction of the public. Her story is printed in scores of books; her simple, dull face was painted and engraved scores of times. Here she is demurely spinning in a Wethersfield doorway, and here in the Connecticut Valley she died; and her secret is buried with her. Here is Bamfylde Moore Carew, the King of the Mumpers; and little Lord Annesley, the trepanned nobleman; and the delightful swindler, Reverend Henry Tufts; and several cozening rogues — many of them parsons; and here is Moll Flanders herself, and a score of other famous thieves and vagabonds, and "considerables," as Cotton Mather called such-like.

They file across our history and give life to it, yet are not a real part of everyday life. And we have the earliest of great preachers, fantastics like Gorton, some of them, and some fanatics. Others, like Roger Williams, are true men of God. The eighteenth century brought Bishop Berkeley with the portrait-painter Smybert in his train; and here are Whitefield and Wesley. Here is also that fascinating, amusing man, John Rogers, who founded

the Rogerenes; and later Jemima Wilkinson, who founded the Wilkinsonians; and Mother Ann Lee, who founded the Shakers; and Father Rapp, who founded the community at Harmony. Here are a



William Byrd of Westover.

band of Rosicrucian mystics practising their strange, weird rites in quiet Germantown. They are in a garb of utmost simplicity. And here are others wearing no wool, no skins, no part of anything that ever had sentient life, and eating no animal food.

One important London amusement was missing,

the theatre. A few players came here and recited moral adaptations of Shakespere to small audiences gathered in tavern parlors or tap-rooms, without scenery and with shabby costumes. Even in this they were hampered and hindered.

Theatres held no permanent place in American life till after the Revolution. Panoramas, perspectives, collections of paintings, took the place of the plays. Masked balls and fancy-dress parties, which were the chief and most constant of London pleasures, were not an American resource; they were frowned upon. This function of fancy-dress parties accounts for the strange costume-dresses worn in some portraits of this day. We did have "Gardens" in New York, with music and supper, following, though afar off, the Ranelagh and Vauxhall gardens beloved of Horace Walpole. Card-playing, too, and lotteries flourished in the American provinces. It was a wonderful zest to shopping to do it through lottery tickets. You might get a gold watch, or a scarlet roquelaure, or you might get an enamelled patch-box or a silver snuff-box — all for a shilling ticket. And you might — oh, dear me! — get a package of vegetable seeds or a wooden shovel. Raffling-shops were in every city. Even books — sensible, pious books — were sold by raffle.

This period of dulness of fashions for America and England came naturally enough through the different controlling conditions. England had no flippant gallant Court Abbé, as in France, whispering new fashions and new extravagances in women's ears; no intriguing priests, no overbearing milliners, no

wonderful artist hair-dressers riding in state from house to house, taking pupils at high prices.

England had no French courtesans, dominating the king, securing royal funds and public moneys for their rich and fascinating costumes. England had — and they were America's rulers also — cold gloomy William; then, first, a dull German George; then, second, a very dull German George; and, third, a very narrow, virtuous, respectable, dull George, who came "with few of the graces and none of the liveliness of youth," and had ever a dull virtuous court. He had a queen as rigid, as decent and dull as himself, tasteless like her royal predecessor, who was not at all dull, however, the wife of George II. The wife of George I never came to England. There were two countesses who came with the dull old king; they might have set the fashions had they been French, but they were Dutch — one so thin that the street boys jeered at her. The other, who weighed three hundred, was stayless — and really you cannot be a fashion leader without stays. Four very dull courts; and a century of dull society.

We had constant balls and assemblies, simple affairs many of them. But read of London routs and ridottos; some of them were pretty dull things too. We had horse-races, foot-races, cocking-mains, and a few dull ventures at bull-baiting.

As a rule, however, American amusements were simple indeed. They were spinning-matches, and singing-schools, and various gatherings of women alone in country towns — and of men alone; and

in the capitals, the royal birth-night balls and assemblies, a regatta, a horse-race, formal dinners and high teas, and a "consort."

The mid-century of English dress from 1740 to 1764, as well as English daily life, is depicted for us in every form and detail and in every rank in life in the works of William Hogarth. To him we turn rather than to description for a decision of any disputed point. The plates in *Hudibras*, 1726, were his first work; but later the various series, such as *Industry and Idleness*, *The Rake's Progress*, *Marriage à la Mode*, and others, form an illustrated panorama of the modes.

In the year 1768 a Boston painter named Christian Remick made a water-color drawing which he called a *Prospective View of Boston*. It is owned now by the Concord Antiquarian Society, and a very good reproduction of it has been engraved recently; and a few plates printed for sale. In the foreground the Common is depicted with various promenaders in the dress of the times. The children are dressed precisely like the grown persons. Women and little girls wear close caps surmounted by hats, as are the women in Hogarth's works; but the hats of *The Boston Fair* are turned up in the back in a flap. All the fine-lady promenaders wear very long aprons, so long that the hems thereof touch the ground. The servants in the picture are all negroes; the male servants wear knee-breeches and cocked hats, but over the coats and breeches hang long heavy aprons. The butcher wears a smock, and carries a great cleaver. The simple dress of a negro servant

is shown in this old print of the poet Phillis Wheatley, on this page.

Around the governors of the various provinces gathered in each capital a little circle of card-playing, horse-racing, fox-hunting court attendants, who naturally wore the best dress in the provinces; English younger sons, sent to America to sober down, where they proceeded to liven America up. The constant correspondence of the governor and his officials with England kept this circle fully informed upon all the changes in dress; and many of these letters, both private and official, have been preserved. From them we gain an excellent notion of the importance of good dress, and the prevalence of good dress in the colonies, and of good living in every respect — furniture, carriages, wine, food. There were proportionately

more carriages in Boston than in London. Many had coaches. I have seen portions of the furniture of the short-lived Governor Osborne; and that of Governor Burnet; and of Governor Belcher. It was all exceedingly rich. Their clothing was also costly. The story is told of Lady Cornbury, wife of the extravagant and impecunious Governor Hyde, Lord Cornbury, that her means of replenishing her wardrobe was to admire a certain article of clothing worn by her Dutch or English neighbors in New York, to send for it the following day "for a pattern," and — to forget to return it. She owned the only coach in town, and the rumble of its wheels differed from that of all other New York vehicles; when the sound was heard approaching a house — all was animation. "Here! take this away!" "Run! hide that!" "Put this in the closet!" "Carry this to the garret!" else the new garment was lost forever.

A series of the portraits of the provincial governors found to-day in our state-houses shows them to be a fine, courtier-like, richly dressed group of men. Many are in full court-dress; others in armor; some wear turban and banyan.

In Boston the influence of the royal governor and his staff established a miniature court which closely aped English dress and manners, and rivalled English luxury. An English traveller, Bennett, wrote of Boston in 1740, "Both the ladies and gentlemen dress and appear as gay in common as courtiers in England on a coronation or birthday." Whitefield complained bitterly of the "foolish virgins of New England covered all over with the pride of

life"; of the jewels, patches, and gay apparel commonly worn.

Hawthorne — keenest of observers and investigators — wrote thus of them: —

"There are tokens everywhere of a style of luxury and magnificence we had not associated with our notions of the times. The gaudiest dress permissible by modern taste fades into a Quaker-like sobriety compared with the rich deep glaring splendor of our ancestors. Such figures were too fine to go about town on foot; accordingly carriages were so numerous as to require a tax."

Let us read the letter-book of one governor, to learn of them all.

Jonathan Belcher was governor of Massachusetts from the year 1730 to 1741; many of his letters have been published in recent years by the Massachusetts Historical Society. A man of method, he kept copies of all his letters, even those of minute importance. But his thoughts moved in ruts; he had little choice of expression, and he owned a set of stock phrases and quotations which frequently reappeared. In all things a conventional man, he naturally thought much of clothes. He is, in fact, a strange product, a union of New Englander and English courtier; full of servility, corruption, and duplicity, and yet he was also ostentatious in piety. His pious references to the Bible and assertions of his religious faith, and moral advice to his twenty-year-old son, balance in every letter his solicitous querying as to the son's wig-wearing; the latter was "not to his goust" (or gust), he said.

"1732. I find you are still desirous to cut off your hair. For my own part I can't think a wigg will ever become you so well. After your having the small-pox you wore a wigg and I thought it rather disfigured you. I shall govern myself with what your uncle may say on this. . . . The Present Prince of Wales wore his own hair till he was twenty-five. Mr. Spencer Cooper wore his at the barr after forty years of age. . . . I will by no means have you think of cutting off your hair without my special leave altho' it shou'd cost you as much the yearly dressing as to furnish yourself with wiggs."

We can see by the portrait of young Manigault (facing page 424) and young Bowdoin (facing this page), and others, that for many mid-years of the century *young* men wore their own curling, flowing hair, though their fathers all wore wigs.

Governor Belcher's own abundant means, acquired by inheritance and in mercantile life, enabled him to make much formal display in equipage, dress, and lavish hospitality. He writes to his son in 1733: "I am in great want of a footman that can shave, dress a wigg, and do all things about a gentleman. Let him be a Dissenter, sober and honest if you can; but one I must have, the best you can get. For my servants are all free and set up for themselves." He sent the following letter to his tailor. It is dated January, 1733.

"To Mr. Tullit:

"I have desired my brother, Mr. Partridge, to get me some cloaths made, and that you should make them, and have sent him the yellow grogram [a fabric of silk and mohair] suit you made me at London; but those you make

Governor Bowdoin, in Youth.

now must be two or three inches longer and as much bigger. Let 'em be workt strong, as well as neat and curious. I believe Mr. Harris in Spittlefields (of whom I had the last) will let you have the grogram as good and cheap as any body. The other suit to be of a very good silk. I have sometimes thought a rich damask would do well, or some good thick silk, such as may be the Queen's birthday fashion, but I don't like padisway. It must be a substantial silk, because you'll see I have ordered it to be trimm'd rich, and I think a very good white shagrine will be the best lining. I say, let it be a handsome compleat suit, and two pair of breeches to each suit. I hope Mr. Belcher of the Temple is your customer, and that he don't dishonour his father. I am, Sir,

"Your ready friend, J. B."

With this yellow grogram suit was also ordered "a very handsome sword-knot, cane-string and cockade all of orange ribbon richly flowered with silver and crimson." These were to be woven for him specially, and this cockade and sword-knot of orange and crimson ribbon worn with the yellow grogram coat and the orange trooping-scarf must have made his ruddy face in its flowing peruke look

Dress Coat and Waistcoat. Worn in British Navy by American and British Officers. 1750.

like one inflamed pumpkin with his body for another. His portrait by Liopoldt hangs in the Boston State-house — a goodly personable figure in velvet with flowered waistcoat. The buttonholes on the coat and deep cuff are works of art; they are embroidered in the shape of a curled ostrich plume, the end of the plume being formed by a little tassel of fringed silk detached from the coat save at one end. Stein-kirk and sleeve-ruffles of richest lace complete an elegant costume. Other beautiful buttonholes of this date are shown on page 403, on the formal dress-suit of an English admiral.

The following year he orders a fine three-pile velvet suit, "the best that can be had for money," the lining deep gold color either of "shagrine" or other good lining silk; also a "night-gown of best Geneva damask that is made for men's wear." The color of this was to be a deep crimson. He pru-dently requests several extra yards of both velvet and damask. In 1739 he orders from London a roquelo (or roquelaure). Then he sends across seas a leathern waistcoat and breeches to be laced with gold in the handsomest manner, "not open nor bone lace, but close lace something open near the head of the lace." The buttons were to be of metal with eyes of the same, "not wooden buttons with cat gut loops which are good for nothing." These buttons were to be "gilt with gold" wrought in imitation of cloth but-tons. To wear with these riding-breeches he ordered "a fine cloth jocky coat" of leather color lined with same color. Hat, buckles, shoes, stockings, all are ordered to match, silver buckles and pinchbeck also,

General Samuel Waldo.

and everything the very best. Another glimpse of modes is seen in the score of fine otter skins sent to Europe from which to make a muff for the Duke of Argyle, though "I am sensible muffs are out of high fashion in London."

No one was better fitted to give tone and flavor to society than Hutchinson, who, as governor of the province under the king, was destined to be rejected by the people when they seized a choice. There were gay doings then at his home at Milton, as well as in the fine mansions of Boston town. The memoranda relative to the Governor's "cloaths" are enough to paint a picture of the stately scene wherein he figured, bravely arrayed. Like all the proper men of his day, he was distinctly exacting over his wardrobe. October 5, 1769, found him in a deliberating mood; this was after his elevation to the chief magistracy. He then sends to London for appropriate furbishing for his person: —

"To Mr. Peter Leitch:

"I desire to have you send me a blue cloth waistcoat trimmed with the same color, lined, the skirts and facings, with effigeen, and the body linnen to match the last blue cloath I had from you: — two under waistcoats or camisols of warm swansdown, without sleeves, faced with some cheap silk or shagg. A suit of cloaths full-trimmed, he cloath some thing like the enclosed, only more of a gray mixture, gold button and hole, but little wadding lined with effigeen. I like a wrought, or flowered, or embroidered hole, something though not exactly like the hole upon the cloaths of which the pattern is enclosed; or if frogs are worn, I think they look well on the coat; but if it be quite irregular, I

would have neither one or the other, but such a hole and button as are worn. I know a laced coat is more the mode, but this is too gay for me. A pair of worsted breeches to match the color, and a pair of black velvet breeches, the breeches with leather linings. Let them come by the first ship.

"P.S. If there be no opportunity before February, omit the camisols, and send a green waistcoat, the forebodies a strong corded silk — not the *cor du soie*, but looks something like it — the sleeves and bodies sagathee or other thin stuff, body lined with linen, skirts silk. My last cloaths were rather small in the arm-holes, but the alterations must be very little, next to nothing."

Again, in 1773, his wardrobe needs a further replenishing: —

"I desire you to send me by the first opportunity a suit of scarlet broad-cloth, full trimmed but with few folds, and shalloon lining in the body of the coat and facing, the body of the waistcoat linen, and the breeches lining leather, plain mohair button hole; also, a cloth frock with waistcoat and breeches, not a pure white but next to it, upon the yellow rather than blue, — I mean a color which has been much worn of late, button-holes and lining the same, the coat to have a small rolling cape or collar. — Also, a surtout of light shag or beaver, such color as is most in fashion: a velvet cape gives a little life to it. . . . Write me whether any sort of garment of the fashion of velvet coats, to wear over all, which were common some years ago, are now worn, and whether of cloth, and what color and trimmings. I should not chuse velvet."

We can trace in portraits the alteration in shape of coats; William Browne's coat-skirts reach well down

to the knee, indeed are almost below it. There is still no coat-collar. In 1745 laces disappeared from the coat, though they still edged the long waistcoats. The coat-skirts were stiffly lined. The stockings were drawn over the knee, and met the kneeband of the breeches which was neatly buttoned or buckled. A writer of 1753 gave a hint of the mode in his complaining letter: —

"What gentleman now rolls his Stockings? or lets his Breeches cover the cap of his Knees? Who suffers his coat-skirts to hang low enough to hide his thighs?"

This word "coat" means a waistcoat.

In 1757 a "coatee" was in fashion; no definite description of it can be given, save that it was very short.

"Horseman's coats," "Watch-coats," "Grego Watch-coats," "Thunder and Lightning Coat" — this last is explained to be a coat of German serge.

In the *Boston News Letter* in the first year, 1704, was advertised a runaway servant who eloped in a "sad colour'd old Coat or a new light Drugget Coat with Buttonholes and Trimmings of black." Another deserter wore a "White Cape-cloth Watch-coat."

The skirts of men's coats were at first stiffened with wire to make them stand out well; but this fashion was given up in the second half of the century. A certain tilt of the coat-skirts marked the dandy, just as the swing of the hoop told the belle.

The set and swing of the coat-skirts was ever a

matter of much pride and concern. Great care was taken not to wrinkle and crease and crush these skirts; yet it was not till the nineteenth century, till 1802, that the inventive genius of the great cabinet-maker and designer, Sheraton, shaped and made a chair which he called a "conversation chair," and which was intended solely for masculine use, and to protect the masculine coat-skirts. This chair was very narrow, the coat-wearer sat astride it, and leaned his arms upon the back, which was cushioned on the top like the side arms of a chair; and at the precisely convenient height for elegant leisurely lolling. Of course the coat-skirts stuck out or hung down unwrinkled and uncrushed, to the admiration of all beholders and the confident satisfaction of the coat wearer. We can imagine the fine velvet court-suit of Governor James Bowdoin thus safely displayed.

All the portraits of the provincial governors show tight, plain breeches, varied only at the knee, where one year may be a band or a button, another has a paste knee-buckle, and for some of the early years a rich garter.

In the list of household goods and clothing which the governor of Acadia asserted that "Mr. Phips," the governor of Massachusetts, had stolen from him, or deprived him of, were four pair of silken garters; with which borrowed finery possibly Governor Phips cut a fine figure. Judge Sewall had a rare pair of garters given to him in 1688 — "a pair of Jerusalem Garters which cost above 2 pieces 8 (Spanish dollars) in Algeria." Snakeskin garters were constantly worn to ward off cramp in the leg.

By the latter part of the eighteenth century breeches were worn skin tight. A gentleman ordering a pair is said to have told his tailor, "If I can get into 'em, I won't pay for 'em."

An ancient gentleman, telling of Alexandria in Washington's day, asserted that breeches were hung on hooks, and the wearer donned them by going up three steps and then letting the person down into

Wedding Waistcoat of Blue Uncut Velvet. 1704.

them from above. Such breeches-hooks remained till the present day in the Roberdean house, in Alexandria, and can there be seen.

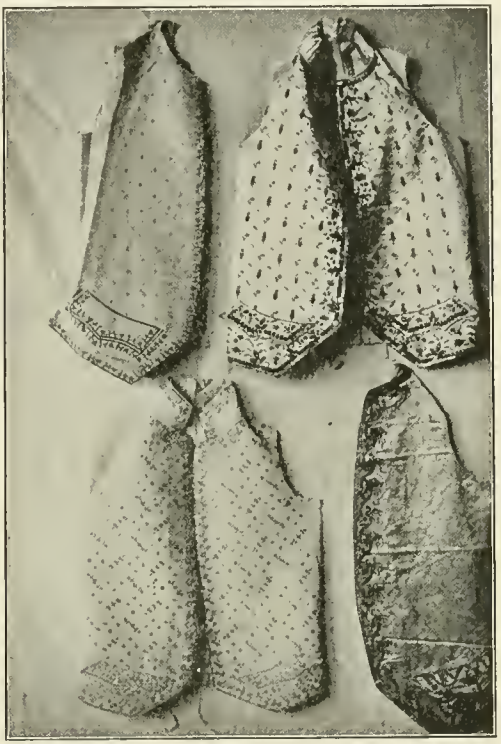
Breeches-making in this century became a trade in itself, aside from tailoring, because the breeches were commonly made of leather, deerskin or sheepskin, and required different workmen.

Some of these waistcoats were "exceeding magnifical," with their embroidered pocket-flaps and

buttonholes and their beautiful paste buttons; these latter were rich in colored enamels and jewels, in odd natural stones, of lovely tints, such as agates, carnelians, bloodstones, spar, marcasite, onyx, chalcedony, lapis lazuli, malachite. The pink-tinted tops of fine shells were beautiful on black velvet garments. George Washington had several sets of shell buttons. A rose-pink waistcoat embroidered in silver with buttons of darker pink shell in silver settings was worn by a Boston groom with a silver-gray velvet coat, also with shell buttons, and white satin smallclothes. And there is a tradition in the family that his dress was so much more striking than the bride's that she had a hearty fit of crying over it. Here are a few of the names of buttons taken from tailors' lists. These are buttons for men's garments, not for women's: Thread, metal, and worsted buttons; death's head buttons; mohair buttons; gold and silver wire buttons; death's head black vest buttons; gilt buttons; shell buttons and tortoise shell buttons; carnelian and marcasite buttons; Lapps-azure buttons (which were doubtless lapis lazuli); knit buttons; steel buttons; coin buttons; French gilt and London plate buttons; basket buttons; horsehair buttons; pewter buttons. Fashionable button-makers covered buttons with the cloth of the coat or cloak, and then embroidered these with gilt bugle, steel beads, spangles, etc.

One very beautiful waistcoat is covered with a trellis design in brown over which run vines with tiny single roses. On the flaps of the pockets these vines form the initials of the wearer, "E. M." The

border of this waistcoat is in silks the colors of the embroidery, and has also flat bits of green glass (a flat glass bead) sewed in a fine design. This was a wedding waistcoat. And it is a curious example of the indifference of the day to all save external effects, to find this waistcoat lined with a printed cotton stuff.



Embroidered Waistcoats of Governor James Bowdoin.

One detail of men's dress at this date I gather wholly from advertisements in the newspapers. I find no items in inventories of wardrobes, no mention in letters, but the newspapers of the middle of the century give in every shopkeeper's list, knit waistcoats and knit breeches. Sometimes the item is knit breeches-pieces; or breeches patterns; at other times the articles appear to be made up or knitted in shape. "Saxon green knit waistcoats," "black worsted knit breeches," "black silk-knit breeches," "silk-knit waistcoats," are named as for sale; one tailor had a "white silk knit waistcoat-piece." Women also advertised that they would repair knit waistcoats and

knit breeches, would "graft" where spots were worn — which would indicate that these knitted pieces were hand knit. At one time I thought they were knit on the new knitting-machines. With the short knee-breeches, stockings were an important detail of dress. When every young woman was a diligent knitter, stockings were plentiful. Five pairs of silk, thirteen of cotton, and a like number of worsted stockings were in Captain Parker's possession.

Stubbes tells of "cunningly knit hose, curiously indented in every point with quirks, clocks, open seams, and everything else accordingly."

The cost of these silk hose is often a surprise to us. A man's silk stockings could cost more than the coat on his back; a guinea for a coat perhaps, but the clocked silk hose embroidered on the instep cost two guineas. But when I look at them, I cannot wonder. Here is a pair of my great-grandfather's, the minute-man of the Revolution, of purest, whitest silk closely spun, thickly woven; they shine like silver. Were they worn on his head instead of his heels, you would call them a fit crown to his whole costume. See this portrait, painted by Copley in his best manner, of old Jeremiah Lee in his best manner. Head well up, peruke flowing, hand proudly extended, he is "making a leg" as he was taught in his Comenius's *Janua*, "Rise up, put off thy Hatt, extend thy Hand, make a Leg." And a goodly leg it is. There are compensations in all conditions. If Jeremiah Lee mourned over the too vast spread of his brown velvet waistcoat and the increasing inches of his embroidered sword-belt, the

extra weight would permit him to set out this goodly white silk leg, and he could try to forget the paunch while Joseph Browne, with a slim waist like a young maid of honor's, wrapped his shrunk shanks in shame in an Indian banyan, and wore three pairs of thick stockings when he walked abroad. The artist Copley gratified the harmless pride of Jeremiah by painting his silken leg and the fine triangular clocks so deftly that you could never forget them. General Waldo has equally rich and beautiful hose, but he has not Jeremiah Lee's leg. (See facing page 404.)

Castor hats continued to be imported; Pepperell ordered six dozen from England in one invoice. They appear on the heads of runaways in many an advertisement. But a change was coming from the centuries' wear of straight-brimmed beavers. Cocked hats came in vogue in New England when they did in England, and varied widely in shape from year to year as they did in looping, sometimes being turned up only in front with a button, at other times having three laps. In 1670 hat-brims had been about six inches wide. Dr. Holyoke said that in 1732 his father wore one seven inches wide. In 1742 it became

> "... a fashionable whim
> To wear it with a narrow brim."

A "Ramillies cock" was worn with a Ramillies wig.

> "When Anna ruled and Kevenhueller fought
> The hat its title from the hero caught."

This Kevenhueller was a large hat, and was much affected in the army. Hatters named Remington and Brown, in Hanover Square, advertised "Gentlemen's plain and laced Hats, dress'd and cock't by the most fashionable hatter in England."

A certain affectation of hat-wearing was seen. It consisted in letting the corners, which should stand out from the forehead, stick up perpendicularly. The wearers of these hats were called gaukies, an appropriate name.

The shape of the hat and the cock of the hat were matters of importance.

"My Mother . . . had rather follow me to the grave than see me tear my clothes, and hang down my head and sneak about with dirty shoes and blotted fingers, hair unpowdered and a hat uncocked,"

says *The Rambler*, No. 109.

During the Revolutionary War, the sentence of whipping with five lashes was imposed on any soldier whose hat was found carelessly unlooped, "uncockt," as it "gave him a hang-dog look."

Tied loosely around the neck of well-dressed gentlemen, there now appeared a ribbon of black silk. It was worn first at the court of Louis XV, and was known as a solitaire. Sometimes it was fastened to the bag of the wig. It was most becoming; the clear black ribbon formed a frame to the powdered hair, the pretty shirt-ruffle, the stock, and the jewelled stock-buckle; it was really a delightful addition to a man's dress. I can fully agree with the fribble in Anstey's *Bath Guide* (1766):—

Front of Court Suit worn by Governor Bowdoin.

Back of Court Suit worn by Governor Bowdoin.

"But what with my Nivernois hat can compare
Bag-wig and laced ruffles, and black solitaire.
And what can a man of true fashion denote
Like an ell of good riband tied under the throat."

Often it was tied to the bag of the wig, and the ends were tucked loosely into the front of the coat or shirt, as shown in the portrait of Dr. John Morgan. Solitaire ribbons were advertised widely in American newspapers. The accompanying feminine fashion was a ribbon of black velvet tied round the throat, given in several portraits in this book. The solitaire lingered until the great pouf of ribbon and lawn, adopted by the macaroni, entirely changed neck-dressing.

One great dress contrast seen everywhere in England was never found in the New World; this was the sombre formal garb of the English clergy. Neither surplice or cassock in the pulpit nor the decorous shovel-hatted dress of English clerical street wear was seen; even in Virginia, where the parson wore his gown in the pulpit, he was not carefully arrayed in conventional garments when out of the pulpit. In New England the minister woré a respectable black suit — often, alas! sadly rusty — alike on week-days and the Sabbath.

An entry in the diary of Anna Green Winslow, a Boston schoolgirl in 1771, shows the hatred of New England Puritans of anything savoring of Episcopacy.

"Dr Pemberton & Dr Cooper had on gowns; In the form of the Episcopal cassock; the Doct$^{s}$ deign to distinguish themselves from the inferior clergy by these strange

habits (at a time too when the good people of N. E. are threatn'd with & dreading the coming of an episcopal bishop). N. B. I dont know whether one sleeve would make a full trimm'd negligee as the fashion is at present, tho' I cant say but it would make one of the frugal sort with but scant trimming. Unkle says they all have popes in their bellys. Contrary to 1 Peter v. 23. Aunt says when she saw Dr. P. roll up the pulpit stairs, the figure of parson Trolliber recorded by Mr. Fielding occur'd to her mind & she was really sorry a congregational divine should by any instance whatever give her so unpleasing an idea."

A few years ago, at an anniversary in the Congregational church at Northampton, Massachusetts, a beautiful bas-relief of the figure of Jonathan Edwards was erected as a memorial. When the design was being made, a great questioning arose whether Parson Edwards wore a gown in the pulpit. If so, the draping folds made a far more graceful dress for the artist's use than the plain black coat and knee-breeches of the layman. The portrait known to the artist displayed a small clerical band, but the dress might be coat or gown. The original portrait, however, owned by Mrs. Johnson-Hudson, of Stratford, Connecticut, a descendant of Jonathan Edwards, plainly shows a Geneva gown; and the bas-relief displays a figure thus attired. Many sermons exist in which the wearing of a gown in the pulpit is deplored; and one parson, in derision, donned the black cambric pulpit-cover and thrust his arms through the holes make for the pulpit lamps, and thus attired delivered his sermon. We have a few early portraits which prove the wearing

of clerical robes by some, such as the portrait of John Cotton (page 42), and later of Cotton Mather (facing page 42). But it is also true that they were abhorred by many Puritan believers. There had been much controversy in the fold of the Church of England about clerical gowns.

Everyday Suit of Clothes of Dr. Edmund Holyoke, of Salem, Mass.

After the Reformation the graduates of English universities wore the comely academical apparel assigned to their wear; this was the wide-sleeved gown. The Puritan preachers adopted in England a dress of Genevan devising; though some wore "Turkey gowns, gaberdines, frocks, or nightgowns of most lay fashion for avoiding of superstition." Hogarth shows us many of his clergymen wearing a full-sleeved gown, sometimes closed with a button at the top, and sometimes open to display a cassock and cincture beneath.

A description of dress was written for the Old Colony Memorial in 1820, giving the costume and

appearance of everyday plain folk in the years previous to the Revolution. I have always deemed this account of value, being the words of people then living, writing without exaggeration, and without being contradicted, as they would certainly have been if the record were untrue. It does not give the dress of Copley's sitters, the garb of fine folk who had their portraits painted, but tells what was worn by the men who lived upon the farms, who worked in shops; the dress of tradespeople, artisans, craftsmen — in short, the people. It runs thus: —

"In general, men old and young, who had got their growth, had a decent coat, vest, and small clothes, and some kind of fur hat. These were for holiday use and would last half a lifetime. Old men had a great coat and a pair of boots. The boots generally lasted for life.

"For common use they had a long jacket, or what was called a fly coat, reaching down about halfway to the knee. They had a striped jacket to wear under a pair of small clothes like the coat. These were made of flannel cloth.

"They had flannel shirts and stockings and thick leather shoes. A silk handkerchief for holidays would last ten years. In summer-time they had a pair of wide trousers reaching halfway from the knee to the ankle.

"Shoes and stockings were not worn by the young men. Few men in farming business wore them either. As for boys, as soon as they were taken out of petticoats, they were put into small clothes summer and winter. This lasted till they put on long trousers, which they called tongs. They were but little different from the pantaloons of to-day. These were made of linen or cotton, and soon were used by old men and young through the warm season.

"Later they were made of flannel cloth, and were in

general use for the winter. Young men never thought of greatcoats; and overcoats were then unknown."

It will be proved plainly by the illustrations shown in these pages that the only unquestionable record of the dress of the past is presented in the portraits of the wearers. Sometimes a group of those of certain dates may be studied together, as at the Copley exhibitions in Boston, in the portrait group by Gilbert Stuart, now in the Pennsylvania Museum of the Fine Arts, or in the Trumbull collection owned by Yale University. Even more compact as well as extended in presentation are the collections in such works as Miss Anne Hollingsworth Wharton's *Heirlooms in Miniature*. In this book the little gems of art which the author has gathered can be shown in the size of the originals, and form a pleasant study, not only from the dress, but the skilful and concise sketch offered with each miniature as a presentation of the character of the wearer of the dress.

I have collected from which to choose the illustrations in this book, over five hundred portraits of Americans. They form a beautiful collection — a gallery of American history. All of these pictured faces have not names great in our public history, but all are, nevertheless, a part of our national life and progress. All are not beautiful; but some of the most commonplace faces and figures display costumes that make them serve wonderfully well in this book, while some of the fairest faces are valueless. Some are very crude art, yet are of use; while others, masterpieces, are thrown aside. For example, I

have the beautiful engraving of Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait of Joanna Leigh, Mrs. Richard Bennet Lloyd, whose husband, a Maryland gentleman, brought his beautiful bride to Annapolis. Standing in a park carving her name upon the bark of a tree, this fair Joanna is beautiful to look upon. But she wears simply a graceful drapery of long, soft folds held in place by a knotted sash and displaying bare sandalled feet. It is scarce a gown, though it is looped and folded into sleeves; and certainly no mantua-maker or tailor had any part in its making, hence it is in no sense representative of the dress of her day.

It will be seen that many of the portraits are the work of unknown painters — ones who could not in truth be termed artists. But these have been chosen because they reproduce faithfully the articles of dress; they could be painted, and well done, too, by painters of no talent. It was easier to copy elaborate lace ruffles than to paint flesh tints. But even these crudities have their own standard of value. Horace Greeley was shown one of the unspeakable statues of Abraham Lincoln which, in respect to a nation's outcry of grief and affection, were turned out to us in bronze and marble and stone in such numbers in so short a time, some by artists, more by stone-cutters who were scarcely craftsmen and certainly not sculptors. The wily old journalist walked critically around this statue at the first unveiling of its appalling awkwardness and ill form, and when asked what he thought of it, responded cheerfully, "Certainly the buttons are natural."

Court Suit of General Thomas Pinckney.

So have I, not finding a good portrait with such buttons as I wish to illustrate, chosen a daub where "the buttons are natural," not fearing in the least that any will be deceived, or deem me deceived, in fancying them high art.

That there was a resident portrait-painter in Charleston, South Carolina, as early as 1705 is certain, for there is still existing an admirable picture of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, knight in armor, which was painted then and there. This picture bears, written on the background by the artist's hand, the words, "Aetatis 61, April, 7, 1705." It was the work of Henrietta Johnson, who was a pastel artist, and marked her pictures with date and the legend, "Henrietta Johnson Fecit." She was buried in St. Philip's graveyard, March 9, 1728–29.

Governor Broughton, South Carolina.

Fifteen of her portraits have been identified — the earliest dated 1708. Most of these are in the original black wooden frames.

It is most interesting to me to find that few as were women artists in Europe, the New World developed several who made art their means of livelihood, and became successful portrait-painters. There was this Miss Johnson of Charleston, who has the distinction of being the first American artist as well as the first woman artist, since Smybert and Blackburn were not painting in Boston till 1725, and John Watson in Philadelphia till 1728; and the single

allusion to Tom Child in Boston scarcely gives him shape and form.

Another woman painter was Miss Mary Wrench, of Philadelphia; this young lady was so retiring and so proper, that she was unwilling to paint gentlemen's portraits, but was constrained to do so since she needed the money for her support. The unprinted *Recollections* of the artist Charles Willson Peale gives a sentimental story of his call upon her, his examination of her work, and his disclosure of his name with an offer to teach her. Whereupon, as became so modest a young woman, and according to the fashion of the day, she was overcome with confusion and blushes, and was speechless. She married a Mr. Rush, a carver of ship's heads; and in matrimony ceased to paint miniatures.

There was an artist named John Watson, who came to America from Scotland at the age of thirty, in the year 1715, and set up his easel as a portrait-painter at Perth Amboy, New Jersey; but little is known of him or his work.

The erstwhile coach-painter, Smybert, came to America through the urgent requests of Bishop Berkeley. He landed in old Narragansett, and naturally painted the friends of Dr. Berkeley in that plantation, Dr. Honeyman of Newport, Dr. MacSparran and his wife of Kingston. When he came to Boston in 1725, he painted there in the best families: the Lyndes, Quincys, Sewalls, Faneuils, Bromfields, Phillipses, Greens, and other Boston solid men — hard-featured they are, as are all of Smybert's men; and their wives (when they had

wives) were painted too — they are not all hard-featured, but certainly are monotonous in style. But he was faithful in his representations; and his dry, bloodless faces and stiff figures serve well enough for our study as figures to display the dress of his day, which was a little meagre, too, in comparison to what preceded and what followed. Smybert died in 1751.

Robert Feke is said to have been a Rhode Island Quaker. He was in Newport in the year 1746, for he then painted portraits of the Rev. John Callender, of Newport, and the beautiful wife of Governor Wanton. He may have visited Philadelphia, as a remarkably fine portrait by him of Mrs. Charles Willing, wife of the mayor of Philadelphia, and one of Tench Francis, signed "R. Feke, 1746," are in the possession of their descendants. The following story is told of his life: Feke, although of Dutch descent, was a Quaker; but he joined the Baptist church in Rhode Island. He then turned to a seafaring life, was taken prisoner by the Spaniards and carried off to a Spanish prison. While a captive he relieved the tediousness of imprisonment by rude attempts at painting. The sale of these pictures after his release procured him the means of returning to America. He is believed to have had a home on Long Island; and there is a tradition that some of his portraits are there, but inquiry among the leading Long Island families has failed to reveal where they are. He died in Bermuda, aged forty-four years.

I am inclined to give to Robert Feke the palm for

the painting of fabrics over Smybert and Theus; and he is not excelled by Copley. His paintings extend over a short time only, and are of persons who were often close kin, and thus of like station. There is little variety in their dress except in the case of the rich brocade of Mrs. Willing, which has what Mrs. Delany called "great ramping flowers." His presentation of this brocade is wonderful; nor have the light and lustre faded from his satins, nor the richness and depth from his velvets, though it is two centuries since they were painted.

Feke's capacity for delineating fabrics is discovered amply in the portrait of Governor Bowdoin (facing page 402); though that is not the only power displayed. His drawing is good, the flesh tints are still excellent. Altogether this is a fine portrait, holding its own in worth by the side of Stuart and Copley in a way to make us regret the few of Feke's portraits known to be in existence. The number twelve has been said to me; I know but eight.

In Virginia all the earlier portraits are the work of Lely, Kneller, Van Dyck, and other foreign artists. There is no positive record of native attempts at face-limning until John Hesselius, who lived in Annapolis, painted some portraits in Maryland and Virginia. Some of his work was done previous to 1759; but his father, Gustavus, who called himself "a face painter" in his will proved in 1754, probably painted some of the earlier portraits attributed to John.

Gustavus Hesselius was born in 1682, and was, therefore, several years older than Watson and two

Hon. Peter Manigault.

years the senior of Smybert. He arrived at Wilmington, Delaware, in May, 1711, and soon "flyted" on account of his calling to Philadelphia.

When he died in 1755 he left a comfortable property to his children. His portrait, now at the Pennsylvania Historical Society, displays a well-ruffled shirt, and a head of hair which might be either a wig, or artificially curled natural hair.

The lovely Charlotte Hesselius, daughter of John, became the first wife of Thomas Jennings Johnson; a winning, vivacious creature. Her pretty face is shown on a later page in a hat which might have been made in New York this year, so modern is its shape as well as its trimming. But the bare neck with shepherdess bodice shows that the wearer is of another century.

Jeremiah Theus, or Thews, was one of three brothers who came to South Carolina from Switzerland about 1739.

During a residence in Charleston of nearly forty years, Jeremiah impressed the community with the influence of his talent and high personal character, and he was the undoubted pioneer of legitimate art in South Carolina as well as the founder of a family honorably connected with Revolutionary history.

He died on May 18, 1774, leaving a handsome fortune and a homestead. His drawing was accurate and coloring excellent, and his execution of fabrics fully equal to that of Copley. This last-named characteristic has led to some of his work being called that of Copley.

The portrait of Mrs. Peter Manigault is by

Thews, but the portrait of Mr. Peter Manigault, see facing page 424, is a fine example of the work of Allan Ramsay, the last court-painter of the English court. Mr. Manigault was born in Charleston in 1731, and when eighteen years old went to London where this portrait was painted in 1751. He went to school and university, and studied law in England, and became a barrister of the Inner Temple; later he was Speaker of the House of Commons of South Carolina. He was always splendidly dressed, and his first act when landing in England, when a little lad, was to buy a costly watch with his indigo money. Perhaps he had a love of timepieces, since his portrait is painted with one — an unusual accessory. The satin and velvet suit was of the richest sea-green of a singular tint. The hair is unusually simple for the times.

The portraits by Sir Godfrey Kneller found in America are nearly all of the size a little less than half length, but including the hands, called kit-cat — a name immortalized by being that of the club of forty-eight members whose portraits were painted by Kneller and presented to the secretary and founder of the club.

"Whence deathless Kit-Cat took its name
Few critics can unriddle,
Some say from pastry cook it came
And some from cat and fiddle."

This club was instituted about the year 1700, and is believed to have lasted but twenty years. Kneller was one of the members.

# CHAPTER XVI

## NIGHTGOWNS AND NIGHTRAILS; BANYANS AND TURBANS

"*Get on your nightgown, lest occasion call us*
*And show us to be watchers.*"

—"Macbeth," II, 2, 70, WILLIAM SHAKESPERE.

"*Others came in their night-gowns, to saunter away their time.*"

—"The Spectator," No. 49, RICHARD STEELE.

"*Eight miles beyond any Ordinary I arriv'd at Col*$^{o}$ *Martin's who rec'd me with Gravity and saluted me with a glass of Good Canary. I found him in his Night Cap and Banian, which is his ordinary dress.*"

—"A Progress to the Mines," WILLIAM BYRD, 1723.

# CHAPTER XVI

## NIGHTGOWNS AND NIGHTRAILS; BANYANS AND TURBANS

BY the middle of the seventeenth century many new and pleasing things came to English and American folk from far Cathay, and were eagerly welcomed. We find one colonist, Higginson, writing from Salem to England, in the first years of that little Massachusetts town, for a reshipment of India goods, such as leather-ware, spices, a few toys, and some silks. A very delectable product, agreeable for both food and drink, then written "chockellata," was imported and quickly loved; a second ambrosial drink, called coffee, was a rival, but was received with some suspicion; "thea," a China drink, had some votaries and many enemies. Besides the lacquered ware came pieces of India china — cups for the costly tea, and splendid punch-bowls to hold the new and welcome India drink, punch. Rich spices delighted colonial gourmands; they valued them like precious stones. Gay, silken stuffs pleased milliners and tailors. Among the fine gauze and crape and thin silk fabrics came one Oriental garment which was quickly adopted by the race who already loved a nightgown; and it was called by various names, besides nightgown, such

names as Indian gown, Indian robe, banian, banjan, banyan, and dressing-gown.

The nightgown of colonial days was not a sleeping-garment. In truth it was a loose gown worn in conditions and under circumstances such as a dressing-gown was worn by our fathers forty years ago; and also worn at more formal meetings where a dressing-gown would have been deemed inadmissible.

The opening of Oriental trade and the importation and use of Oriental articles came first to the Dutch. And attempts have been made to show that early Oriental influences can be traced readily in Dutch Delft ware, in Dutch embroideries, in the Dutch language, and still more far-fetched in Dutch costume.

The nightgown might be, for both men and women, a very handsome article of dress, either "ruffled with great Care," as we are told of one in *The Spectator*, No. 45, or made of rich silk, brocade, or even velvet. American gentlemen wore nightgowns in their counting-houses, both words having given way, the one to a Norfolk jacket or occasionally a smoking-jacket, and the other to the word "office."

Men not only wore these nightgowns in their own homes, but "sauntered abroad" in them, says *The Spectator*. They were, ere Addison's time, I believe, somewhat more undress, for literally "a scandal about Queen Elizabeth," when she was a reckless and hoydenish princess, is told that Admiral Seymour used to come every morning to see her "at hir boke," he garbed "in his nightgown, bare-legged in his slippers." However, he but "looked in the gallery-dore, bade hir good morrow and so went his way."

In an order given by Queen Elizabeth she specifies "twelve yardes of purple vellat frized on the backsyde with white and russet silke to make us a night-gowne; also 14 yardes of Murray Damaske to be employed for making a Night Gowne for the Erle of Leycester," which certainly formed a garment formal enough to silence any scandal.

These nightgowns had been worn in the time of Henry VIII. Lady Lisle had one then of black satin, and her friendly gossiping steward writes: —

"Your night-gowns are made in every point as my Lady Beauchamp's and it is the very fashion that the Queen doth wear, and so were the caps. Divers of the ladies have their night-gowns embroidered, some with gold, some with silk. I have given to Mr. Skeet (the tailor) twelve yards of satin according to order, who shall make it (a night-gown) after the best and most used fashion which is large and long, with double placards as you wished: And when the fur cometh, see it trimmed after the best manner."

What we now term a nightgown was then a night-rail; though all rails were not for night wear. An old play, by Middleton, speaks of the impropriety of men wearing stomachers or nightrails. The fashion of wearing "immoderate great rayles" was prohibited by law in Massachusetts in 1634. The garment at that date must have been a woman's loose gown or sacque worn in the daytime, for even a meddling Massachusetts magistrate would scarce dare to say what kind of a nightrobe a woman should wear. Some men certainly had nightshirts, as we learn from the formal rules for servants in

dressing their masters, and for court attendants in waiting on the king.

But when we have accounts of the rich nightgowns of royal bridegrooms, the gowns are not for wear while sleeping. At the marriage of the father of George IV, the groom came to the bridal chamber, where the royal family were all assembled, in "a night-gown of silver stuff and cap of finest lace." Lord Hervey described a similar scene at the wedding of the Prince of Orange to the eldest daughter of George II. The poor groom was somewhat misshapen, and when he entered the bridal apartment in brocaded nightgown and nightcap, a vast number of staring people were present. Said the chronicler, "From the shape of his brocaded gown and the make of his back, he looked behind as if he had no head, and before as if he had no neck or legs. His appearance was as indescribable as the astonished countenances around him."

I may state here that I think it very doubtful whether night-clothes were generally popular even in the early years of the eighteenth century. In Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1736) several references are made which indicate that night clothing was not worn by his characters. However, the famous Mrs. Glasse advertised in 1751 that she made "bed gowns, night-gowns and robe de chambers." We must not infer from the use of the word naked that absolute lack of clothing is indicated. Thus, in *Joseph Andrews*, Parson Adams is referred to as naked while standing in his shirt. In the oft-quoted *Mundus Muliebris*, 1696, we read of "twelve day smocks of

Brocade Silk Banian.

Holland fine with cambric sleeves, and twelve more for night all Flanders laced." The author adds, "The same her night-gown must adorn, with two point waist-coats for the morn."

There were nightrails; but they seem to have been for special wear, when visitors were shown to the bedroom as they were in certain functions, as, for instance, the christening of a child, and throughout the week of caudle drinking, when men and women thronged the mother's bedroom and drank caudle by her bedside. This custom was kept up in America until well into the nineteenth century. To return to the nightrails, Massinger writes in *The City Madam*: —

> "Sickness feigned
> That your night-rails of forty pounds apiece
> Might be the envy of the visitants."

Pepys makes reference to night clothing, but in other entries plainly shows that he slept at times in his day shirt.

Every one — men, women, and children — wore nightcaps apparently as part of sleeping attire, until modern times; at first they were made of silk, gold laced and embroidered.

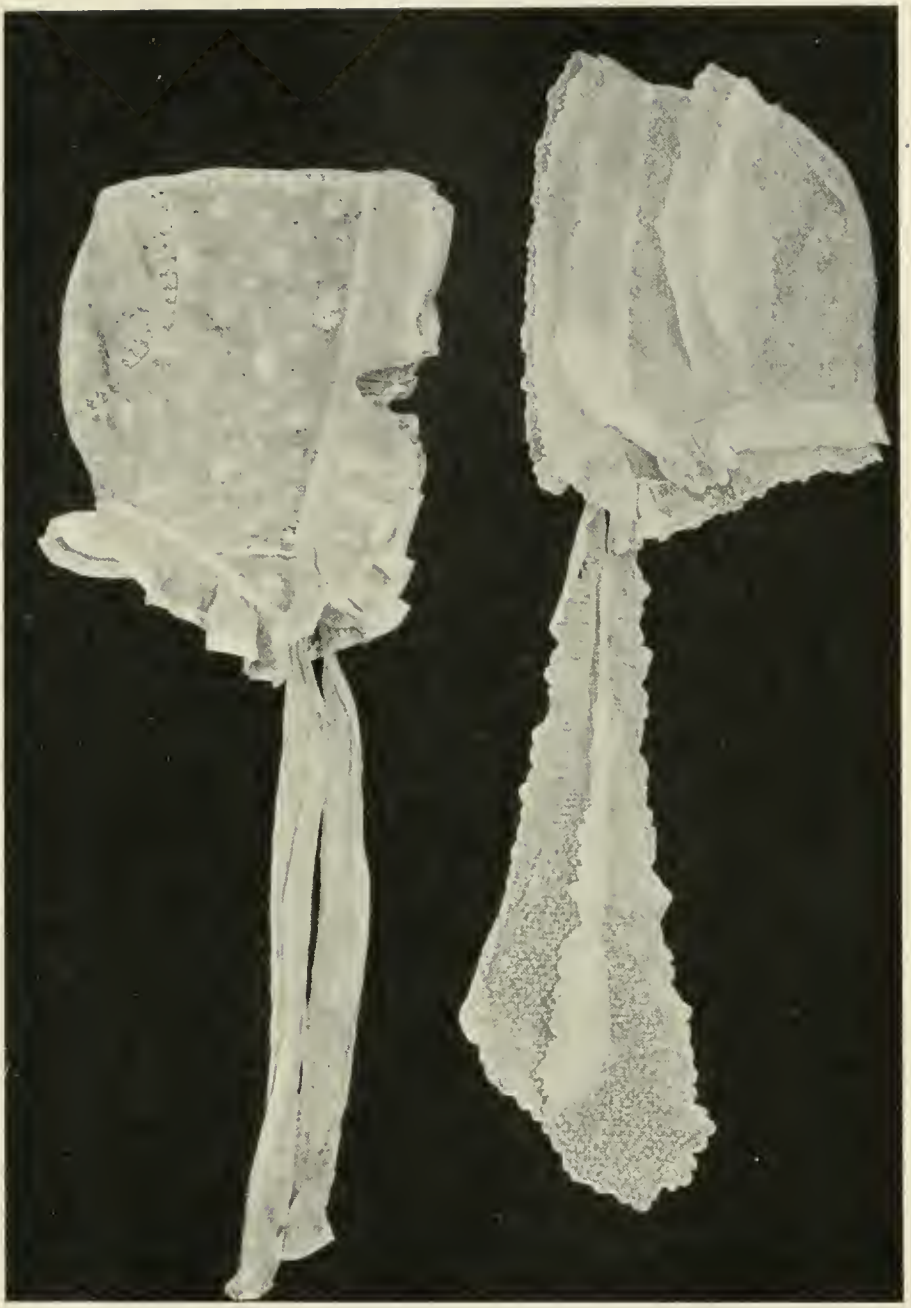
When the governor of Acadia sent to the government of Massachusetts the list of goods stolen from him by "Mr. Phips" he named "four nightcaps with lace edge; eight nightcaps without lace."

We may well exclaim with Taylor, the "Water Poet," "A nightcap is a garment of high state;" for Queen Elizabeth had among her New Year's gifts night-coifs of "cut-work flourished with silver

and set with spangles," and of "camerk [cambric] cut-work and spangells, with a forehead-cloth and a night-border of cut-work with bone lace." But did she really wear these while sleeping, or were they an undress cap? Did not young Gilbert Talbot, son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, catch her walking in the tilt-yard in one of these caps? And did not the queen that evening give him "a good flap" on the forehead and tell her chamberlain that the youth had caught her "unready and in her night-stuff," and how much ashamed she was thereat, and so on, with more of the comedy play she so loved to divert herself and her courtiers with.

When the nineteenth century was reached, the silk nightcap lingered for men, and seems to have been regarded as a gift of much sentiment; but women's nightcaps were always of some washable stuff. Two of the nightcaps of a bridal outfit a hundred years ago are given facing page 434. It will be noted that one is closely covered with a close seeding of French knots, a manner of trimming we have revived within the past two years.

Samuel Pepys was ever punctilious to painful particularity in securing the very ultimatum not so much of fashion as of what he termed gentility; the extreme of wear of those persons whose esteem and approval he and his whole London world and English court valued. In 1665 this "glass of fashion" had his portrait painted in what he termed an Indian gown, which he hired; soon he bought one of his own. So established and modish a dress were these gowns that the making of them became a



Bridal Nightcaps.

special calling. In Chamberlain's *Present State of England*, 1684, Robert Croft is named as Indian-gown maker to the king, and Mrs. Mary Mandove Indian-gown maker to the queen.

The fashion of painting portraits in these night-gowns was favored by Kneller, who painted them often with great wigs. As Horace Walpole said: —

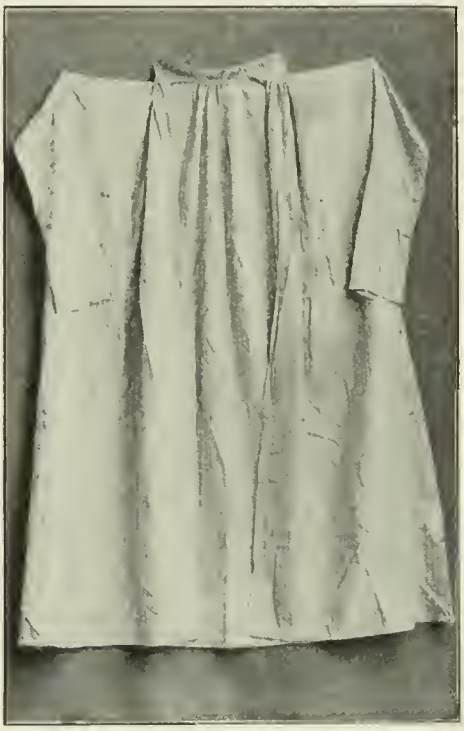
"In the Kit Cat Club, Kneller poured full-bottomed wigs over night-gowns; if these streams of hair were incommode in armour, in a battle, I know nothing they were adapted to that can be done in a night-gown."

The collar of these nightgowns was the plain turnover straight or rolling collar, without revers or corners, familiar to us to-day on Chinese robes and on Japanese kimonos. The broad sleeves also had a straight rolled-over cuff like a kimono cuff. Collar and cuffs show Oriental influences. The lining of the gown was generally of a different color, and thus afforded a contrast in the collar and cuffs. Excellent examples of these gowns may be seen in many of Copley's portraits. He delighted in them; for they gave him ample opportunity for the gay colors and contrasts he rejoiced in. Often these gowns were of the richest brocade, or silk, or even velvet; and were heavily lined, and were reversible. For summer wear an unlined gown of soft Chinese silk, like lutestring, was a welcome relief from the formal, stiff, buckram-lined coat. By the year 1730 certainly, and possibly earlier, these Indian gowns had become known generally by the name banyan, banjan, or banian.

When I first read of banians, I had a notion that the term applied only to loose cotton gowns, and I fancied these gowns had been brought ready-shaped from India, in the cotton stuffs made so widely and variedly in India, and desired so much in America. But on turning to the never-failing assistant and friend of the historical writer — the press, then not even the daily press — I found in the advertisements of old weekly news-letters ample evidence that wool stuffs were used for banians just as much as cotton stuffs. In the *Boston Weekly Gazette*, for several months in the year 1738, appeared a notice of a Boston shopkeeper who had banians made of worsted, damask, and brocaded stuffs; also Scotch plaids and callimancos. A Scotch-plaid banian does seem a bit queer. Then came starrets, and scarlet cloth and masqueraded stuffs all specified for banians. Then I read of a banian with a silver clasp. The definition of banian, given by the new Historical English Dictionary, is very misleading and limited, and conveys no manner of notion of the use of the word in America. This word was the title of a dignitary in India, who usually wore such gowns; the name was transferred from the wearer to the garment. I am sure at first they retained the Indian shape in collar and cuff. Old and young alike revelled in banians; even little infants are described as "wrapped up in a banyan." For a time the word was applied to women's "night-gowns," but had there no long or extended use.

A lutestring silk banian which, for many years, was the summer comfort of an estimable Salem

worthy, Dr. Edward Holyoke, is shown on this page. He was a thrifty old gentleman and one of very quiet tastes; but this banian is of a bright orange, with pink and brown stripes. The very striking Copley portrait of Nathaniel Hurd, now in the Boston Museum of the Fine Arts, affords us a distinct example of a banian. This banian is a rich golden-brown tint with bright pink lining rolled over in kimono cuffs and collar. It has elaborate pink loops and frogs. It is worn over a waistcoat which is partly unbuttoned, and the collarless white shirt is unfastened and opened back at the full throat. The sensual face, blue black, with a strong-growing though close-shaven beard, the turbaned head, and unfastened shirt, with no collar or neck-ruffles, give an extraordinary effect of indolent comfort-loving carelessness, extraordinary to find in a Boston physician and much more to be perpetuated.



Banian worn by Dr. Edward Holyoke.

A splendid example of banyan and turban, unexcelled by any English portrait, may be seen in a copy facing page 438 and at Harvard Memorial

Hall. It is the likeness of Dr. Nicholas Boylston, a benefactor of the college; and this portrait was an order to Copley as a memorial of the generous giver. Remembering this, it is to me an extraordinary portrait, and in extraordinary taste; that any sober Boston gentleman of that day should be limned for perpetuity in the negligée dress of a banian of bright blue brocade, scarlet morocco slippers, and scarlet turban cocked well on one side, is a bit startling. The canvas is very large; and this gay little figure sits with "shrunk shanks" carelessly crossed, as blithe and debonair as a comic-opera figure. And he has such a "pittivanted look," as says the old play, such a self-satisfied air, that we feel sure he chose them because he cut a fine dash in them, and believed he really did look "the top of the jant" in his toggery, else he would have chosen to wear his sober everyday dress or his rich court costume.

John Lovell, the Boston Latin master, was painted by Smybert. His portrait is also in Memorial Hall, and is in turban and a plain banian. Thomas Hubbard, another man of note, hangs by his side in similar dress. Here is Edward Bromfield, by Smybert. He died in 1746 when but twenty-three years old; but he had already made a name for himself by his generous gifts and his scientific attainments. He made the first microscope ever set up in America. His portrait has a great velvet turban and a furred banian, with cuffs turned back from white undersleeves. Here is that "princely knight and courtly gentleman," Jonathan Jackson, the son of "Doro-

Dr. Nicholas Boylston.

thy Q.," who lost his fortune in the War of the Revolution. There are five Copley portraits of him. He is in a wonderful green-figured banian with crimson collar.

The reader of this book will weary of the constant noting of the correspondence of men's and women's fashions. If they did not conform in shape, they did in spirit; this is most plainly shown in these years. For the masculine undress of banian and turban found its counterpart in the negligée, the sacque, and the mob-cap and nightgown.

We have a very good description of a feminine nightgown from the pen of the old Duchess of Marlborough, who ordered such a garment from Paris; you will note that she specifies it is not worn in bed: —

"A Night-gown easy and warm, with a light silk wadd in it, such as are used to come out of bed and gird around, without any train at all, but very full. Tis no matter what color, except pink or yellow — no gold or silver in it; but some pretty striped satin or damask, lined with a taffety of the same color."

The Duchess of Devonshire wrote in 1765: —

"My sister and I were very smart for Carlton House. Our gowns were night-gowns of my invention. The body and sleeves black velvet bound with pink, and the skirt, apron and handkerchie crape bound with light pink, and large chip hats with feathers and pinks. My sister looked vastly pretty."

One of the handsomest garments I have ever known is depicted facing page 438. It is so long

that it must have touched the floor even when worn by a tall man. It is of superb cream-colored damask silk, brocaded with high-colored flowers and with a self-colored figure in the background of a pattern known as à la Dauphine. This banian is lined with heavily ribbed cream-colored silk quilted in a pattern of infinite intricacy. It would not be called a banian but for a half-belt which defines the waist-line. Dress-coats had no belts. A waistcoat of the same material accompanies it; and it was worn with cream-colored or black satin knee-breeches, with diamond knee and shoe buckles and rich lace frills at neck and wrist. All these are also preserved in perfect condition. This was worn by Admiral Jackson, and must have graced some important and familiar conclave with royalty. I have never seen in any court collection or elsewhere a garment of equal elegance of shape and material.

Old "Redcap."

We find many American portraits of men with turbans, especially when banians are worn. Copley was given to painting turbans; and not only did artists love to depict a turban, but they loved to wear one. The portraits of Hogarth and his contemporary artists in England all wear turbans or velvet

caps: Zincke, Rysbrach, Roubiliac, Delvaux, Kent, John Pine, Arthur Pond, John Smith, Winstanley — I take the names as they run in Walpole's *Anecdotes* and as their jaunty turbans peer out of his pages. I suspect they dreaded the test of time on the periwig, dreaded lest it make their faces heavy or ridiculous. They preferred to trust the more natural outlines of the twisted turban or simple cap. It afforded also what they never forgot, a point of bright color.

It may be noted that under all these turbans the head is close shaven. They were worn at a time when large wigs were in fashion, and evidently alternated with the wigs; the latter being worn on dress occasions, the turban in more informal circles, or at home. It is plain that they were very welcome to the colonists, were a relief from the heavy cumbersome wig and the trying powder.

Horace Walpole.

Naturally the head, accustomed to the hot wig, would soon become distressingly neuralgic if left uncovered, therefore, these turbans and nightcaps took turns in protection. A curious head-covering is this of Horace Walpole. A cocked hat is on top of a half-cap, and singular bags confine the two sides or "wings" of the wig. This must have been the very top of the mode, else Walpole would not have been painted in it. A frilled nightcap was chosen by the poet Cowper (see page 442).

It is not wholly a notion of mine, I believe, since others with a keen sense of the humorous have also noted it, that I see distinctly on the faces of our American turban-wearers an expression of satisfied, albeit innocent vanity. Each wearer fancied the gay-colored jaunty turban becoming, and bridled with that fatuous pride which to-day makes all men so gratified with themselves when once they don, though apparently unwillingly, a rich, gayly colored fancy-dress costume. Those good staid citizens of many years ago rejoiced in their rich, high-colored velvet and satin finery.

William Cowper.

All banians were not of the stately richness and riot of color that are displayed in these portraits of Smybert and Copley; some were of heavy cotton stuffs lined with other cotton. A large figured patch or copperplate cheney like bed-hangings for the outside, and a striped cotton of green and black, red and brown, blue and yellow, for the lining, made a less costly and less elegant garment. I have seen a long and full banian of heavy cotton fabric figured with a palm-leaf design of many hues and lined with a soft sarcenet silk of bright orange hue spotted with white and green. On one cuff was sewed a bit of white linen inscribed in ink with these words: —

"This Banyan was made in Canton in 1792 for Archelaus Brown by Chinese taylors. It was made by order of

his son, Rufus Brown; Supercargo of the bark The Lively Nancy. He cleared $100,000 of Chinese gold Cash for a venture of $100 of Ginseng; and 1 Barrel of dried Sage of his Mother's Venture cleared a Chiney tea set, 2 Crape Shawls and $100. All lost by Shipwrack but one small Chest of mostly Books. He was mourned 1 year as Dead & He came in on horse-back waring this Banyan for the last of his clothes was wore out and Rotten with Salt Water and Sun. A very live dress he sayd for a Dead Man. Which is Kept for Thankfulness."

# CHAPTER XVII

## TWO MASCULINE VANITIES — MUFFS AND EAR-RINGS

"*Any Man that took up a Man's Muff dropt on the Lord's Day between the Old Meeting House and the South Meeting House are desired to Bring it to the Printer's Office and Shall be Rewarded.*

— "Boston News Letter," March 5, 1715.

*Superbus swaggers with a ring in his ear;*
*And likewise as the custome is doth wear*
*About his neck a riband and a ring;*
*Which makes me think he's proud of a string.*

— "Epigrams," Hutton, 1619.

# CHAPTER XVII

## TWO MASCULINE VANITIES — MUFFS AND EAR-RINGS

THE advertisement given on page 445 brings naturally to our mind through the suggestion of its grammarless words some young Boston dandy, or perhaps an English officer, mincing along the snowy Boston streets, setting an extreme of startling fashion by carrying a monstrous muff, not at all to the liking of sober, decorous Boston folk. Yet such need not have been the case; for in 1725 Dr. Prince lost his "black bearskin muff," and advertised for it in a Boston newspaper. Now Dr. Prince was the honored minister at the Old South Church, a Puritan, severe and solemn of countenance, if we

Man's Muff. From Hogarth.

can trust his portrait, and anything but a foolish dandy; yet he, too, carried a muff, as did other sober Boston gentlemen; another one lost a "sable skin man's muff," another a "black bear-skin muff," which they duly advertised. In this fashion they simply followed, as in all other articles of dress, the English modes which were sent to them across seas.

From very early days Englishmen wore muffs as well as Englishwomen. The earliest English drawing extant in which a muff is depicted is dated 1598. It is by Gaspar Rutz, and shows an English lady with a cloth muff hanging from her girdle. The wardrobe accounts of Prince Henry of England (that beloved son of James I who died in youth) are still in existence. Two entries under date 1608 read thus: —

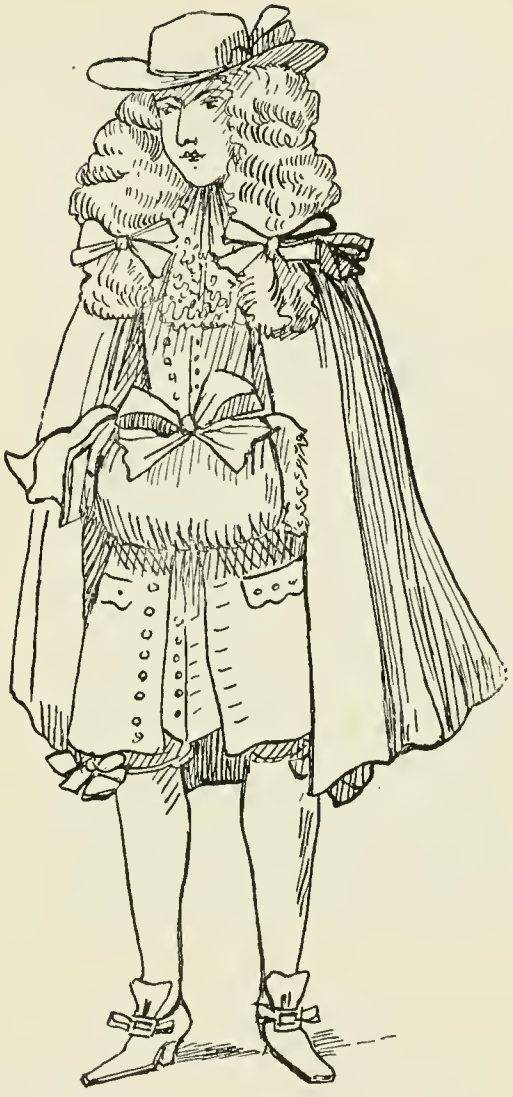
"Two muffes; one of cloth of silver embroidered with purles plates and Venice twists of silver and gold; the other of black satten embroidered with black silk and bugles; viz. the one for £7, the other 60s."

The muffs of that day, both for men and women, while yet a French fashion, seem seldom to have been of fur; but rather of some rich material embroidered, and trimmed with rosettes of ribbon or lace; and they were often worn hung around the neck with varicolored ribbons. When they became naturalized in England, they were more commonly made entirely of feathers, and then of fur.

"Where's my dear delightful muff?
Muff, my faithful Romeo's present!
Tippet, too, from tail of pheasant!
Muff from downy breast of swan!"

One of the first mentions, in the poems and plays of that day, of muff-wearing by men is in a poem by Samuel Rowlands, written about the year 1600. It reads: —

"Behold a most accomplished cavalier
That the world's ape of fashion doth appear
Walking the streets his humour to disclose
In the French doublet and the German hose.
The muffes, cloak, Spanish hat, Toledo blade,
Italian ruff, a shoe right Spanish made."



A Spark of the Bar, with his Wig and his Muff.

From that never failing well of artless information, Pepys's *Diary*, we gain proof of the continued prevalence of muff-wearing. Pepys, torn between equal desires to be fashionable and economical, and economical and generous, records that he took his wife's last year's muff for his own wearing, and made a gift to his mother of his wife's old muff.

Muffs were not worn only by beaux — "A spark of the Bar, with his wig and his muff" — but by dignified professional gentlemen. With gold-headed cane in one hand, a truly fashionable doctor ever held a muff in the other. In *The Mother-in-law* one of the characters is discussing the advisability of becoming a doctor. One friend says to him: —

"'Tis but putting on the doctor's cap and gown, and you'll have more knowledge in an instant than you'll know what to do withal. Besides, if you had no other qualification than that muff of yours, 'twould go a great way. A muff is more than half in the making of a doctor."

Alexander Weddesburn, telling of his youth in the middle of the eighteenth century, speaks of his wearing a muff and trying to look thoughtful and steady, and thus inspire confidence.

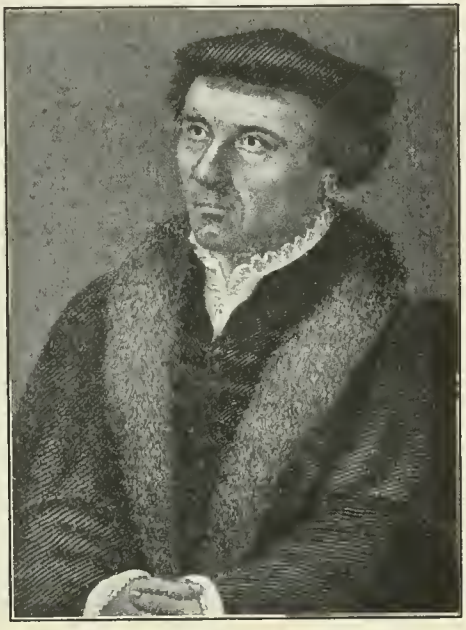
From the pages of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* we learn of muffs and masculine muff-wearers, still assuming the muff as a distinct mark of dignity. It is told of a somewhat eccentric head of a college at Oxford University at about this date, that, like a certain college president to-day, he had a vast aversion to the undergraduates wearing long hair. And he *carried in his muff* a pair of scissors with which he slyly clipped off offending locks.

Muffs were so commonly used by men that Dr. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, wore his muff in the cathedral.

Among constant wearers of muffs among Englishmen were Francis, second Earl of Guildford, who died in 1790, Charles James Fox, and Dr. Samuel Parr. The Earl of March wrote to George

Selwyn in 1766, "The muff you sent me by the Duke of Richmond I like prodigiously; vastly better than if it had been tigre or any glaring color."

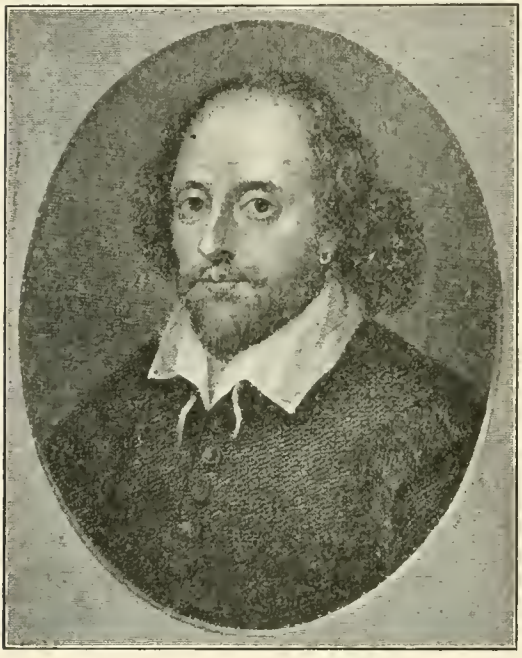
In 1757 took place in England that cruel tragedy in public life, — the official murder of Admiral Byng. Sent by an incompetent war ministry with an ineffectual fleet on an impossible errand, — the relief of Minorca, — the brave officer, with undoubted good judgment, declared success impossible, and abandoned the ruinous attempt. He was found guilty of neglect of duty, was sentenced to death, and was shot on board his ship in Portsmouth harbor. A famous satirical print of the affair was published at the time. In it Admiral Byng carries a large muff, not to mark him as a dandy, but as a true man of dignity. At a much later day, even after the war of the Revolution, Judge Dana of Boston carried always a large muff in winter; and in various inventories of masculine wardrobes in New York and Boston men's muffs appear at that time.



Adam Winthrop.

Horace Walpole carried a muff, and gave them to his friends. He wrote on Christmas Eve, 1764,

to George Montagu: "I send you a decent smallish muff, that you may put in your pocket, and it costs but fourteen shillings." It is easy to fancy him with a muff, and Samuel Pepys also, but it does not seem suited to the garb of a New England Puritan, albeit warmly meet for the temperature of a New England winter, either for man's or woman's wear.



Chandos Portrait of William Shakespere.

From 1790 till 1820 great muffs never went out of fashion for women, and part of the time for men. They were biggest in 1810. Two kinds of fur often were in one muff, a square or single skin of black fur alternating, checker-board fashion, with sable or squirrel. Sometimes a strip of ermine was edged with a darker fur, that of the weasel called gris. Gathered cloth and velvet were used with the fur. A pretty knot or rosette of ribbon, a tiny sprig of artificial flowers, or even a paste buckle with ribbon ornamented the middle of the outside of the muff. It was ever small, often but a cockade knot and seemed almost lost in the dark, fluffy fur of those muffs, some of

which were two feet long, so that when in use the arms were covered entirely to the elbow. Some of these barrel-muffs are illustrated in later pages of this book.

One curious muff-knot was of two colors of narrow ribbon woven in checks into a little bag known in my youth as a May basket. This was fastened to the muff, and may have served as a purse or an equipage to carry folderols.

It is always a surprise to me to find a sedate old English gentleman wearing an ear-ring. Adam Winthrop, grandfather of the first governor, John Winthrop, was painted by Holbein. With his furred robe and flat citizen's cap, this dignified Master of the Guild of Cloth-workers wears an ear-ring (page 451). Philip Stubbes, in his indignant outbursts at excess of fashion, says: —

"Worse than all, they are so far bewitched as they are not ashamed to make holes in their ears; whereat they hang rings, and other jewels of gold and precious stones, but this is not so much frequented among women as among men."

Holinshed in his *Chronicle* confirms this statement: —

"Some lusty courtiers also and gentlemen of courage do wear either rings of gold, stones or pearls in their ears."

Courtiers, it is not strange to know, wore them. That effeminate creature, Henry III of France, and his followers delighted in them, and that courtier of courtiers, the man who seems the very personification of the life of luxury, amusement, cleverness, and extravagance of the English Court under James I,

that courtier of courtiers, the Duke of Buckingham, wore diamond ear-rings.

In the reign of Charles I ear-rings continued in fashion; for the king hung a beautiful pearl in his ear; he even wore it on his way to the scaffold. There he took it from his ear and gave it to a faithful follower, and ever since it has been carefully preserved as a sacred relic, and is now owned by the Duke of Portland. This pearl was given to the Earl of Portland by King William, with an attestation in the handwriting of the Princess of Orange. It is pear-shaped, about five-eighths of an inch long, mounted with a gold top, with a wire to pass through the ear, and a tiny knob to place behind the ear to hold it in place. It is shown in a portrait of the King when he was but fourteen years old.

Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

Many of the portraits of men of the sixteenth and

seventeenth century show ear-rings, usually pearls. A great pearl is in the left ear of Thomas Dutton (nat. 1507, ob. 1582), the founder of one branch of the Cheshire family of his name; his right ear is not shown; generally but one ear was pierced. I have a fine old print of the infamous Earl of Somerset which has a double pearl in the right ear. This portrait of him is in the National Portrait Gallery. In it he wears a ruby ear-ring.

It must not be held that the wearing of ear-rings was only by men of "dandaical body," as Carlyle would say; they hung at the ears of men of action, of men of parts—of Sir Walter Raleigh, of Shakespere, of the Earl of Southampton. Two great pear-shaped pearls, one an inch and a quarter certainly in length, dangle in Raleigh's left ear in a well-authenticated portrait, while the portrait of the Earl of Southampton (facing page 190) shows a goodly ear-ring. His friend Shakespere, in the so-called Chandos portrait (see page 452), is shown with mustache and beard, and an ear-ring like a sailor's. He wrote:—

> "Her beauty hangs upon the cheek of night
> Like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear."

This passage in *Romeo and Juliet* refers to the custom of "Ethiops"—African negroes—wearing ear-rings.

Sailors and fishermen, as did the Ishmaelites of the Bible, commonly wear ear-rings. They have a belief that piercing the ears will both cure and prevent sore eyes. I find that a hundred years ago American

men who "followed the sea" often had their ears pierced and wore ear-rings. On page 457 is a copy of a miniature portrait of Captain George Taylor, a Salem ship-owner, a man of wealth, who wore ear-rings. This was painted in Lisbon in the year 1800. It was a safe inference, until recent times, that an American man who wore ear-rings had seen the world and been round the Horn; and I am told that it was as common for sea-farers (whether ship captains or super-cargoes, or men before the mast) to have their ears pierced as to be tattooed.

M. St. Quily. By Saint Memin.

I have seen a splendid portrait by Gilbert Stuart of a New England gentleman who wore ear-rings and was painted in ear-rings. The presence of the ear-rings in the portrait so annoyed a granddaughter, that she has had them painted out.

Many portraits of French gentlemen have ear-rings.

In the play *Cupid's Revenge*, when the old duke tries to play the gallant, he has his ears pierced. In the Saint Memin portraits, which were painted in America in 1797 to 1810, are several

with ear-rings bearing French surnames, dated 1798 to 1805. A copy of one of these is given on page 456. As Saint Memin was a gentleman, a nobleman, I cannot doubt that his friends were also men of note, but some of them look like Brussels sailors.

Lady Morgan, as late as 1816, noted the gold ear-rings worn by men in France. These were not only on the custom-house officials, but she remarked specially upon the Duc de Biron Gontaut, whose resemblance to the portrait of his ancestor, the Duc de Biron, who was decapitated by Henry IV, was much increased by the fact that both wore "very long gold ear-rings."

Captain George Taylor.

More singular still to me, even than ear-rings, are the black silken strings tied in holes made in the edge of the ear. There is a portrait at Hampton Court with these ear-strings, which is said to be of Shakespere, but with no authority.

Planché gives, from *Desiderata Curiosa*, an account of a fray in Gray's Inn, in 1612, when one quarrelsome gentleman seized another "by a black

string which he wore in his ear, a fashion then much in use." Planché also gives a portrait of Henry, Prince of Wales, at that date, with this black string in his ear; and he conjectures the peculiar fashion may have travelled to England from Denmark with Anne, mother of this Prince Henry, for a portrait at Hampton Court shows Christian, King of Denmark, wearing this ear-string.

Frequent reference to these ear-strings are found in old plays by Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher In one of Marlowe's we read: —

> "Yet for thy sake I will not bore mine eare
> To hang thy durtie silken shoo-tires there."

Another allusion is to drawing ribbons through the ear. Women also wore these ear-strings. A portrait of Anne of Denmark by Vansomer and one of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, by Honthorst have them.

To wear a rose in the ear was a prettier fashion. A portrait of Thomas Lee (about 1590) shows him with a red rose over his ear. The red rose suited love-lock and pearl ear-rings then just as a red rose suits a black lace mantilla to-day.

# CHAPTER XVIII

## MID-CENTURY MODES

"*In teacup time of hood and hoop*
*And when the patch was worn.*"

— Austin Dobson.

"*Flowing loosely down her back*
*Draw with art the graceful sack*
*Ornament it well with gimping,*
*Flowers, furbelows, and crimping*
*Let of ruffles many a row*
*Guard her elbows white as snow;*
*Knots below and knots above,*
*Emblems of the tyes of love.*
*Let her hoop extending wide,*
*Show what petticoats should hide;*
*Garters of the softest silk*
*Stockings whiter than the milk.*"

—"London Magazine," in July, 1755.

# CHAPTER XVIII

## MID-CENTURY MODES

THERE was much monotony in woman's dress in the eighteenth century, but since the dress was good, that should not be a great hardship to look back upon; it might be harder to endure. The mid-century gave us the Watteau dress with its swelling skirts, clouds of lace, and gay ribbons, a costume deemed by many the most charming of all of women's dresses. We can see the very best of this mode in the great pastel of Latour, his portrait of Madame de Pompadour, which is a mantua-maker's dream of artificiality and prettiness in dress, "a poem in satins, ribbons, and laces." Even this fashion lasted too long a time. You can see gowns by the score like those of Madame de Pompadour's in Saint-Aubin's *Le Bal Paré*. They are loose gowns or sacques open over stomachers and under-petticoats; caught in perhaps at the waist by ribbons; raised high sometimes on the side by swelling paniers; fluttering ribbons at certain points, bands of fur at others, satin folds, pleated robings, lace, flowers, gauze and ruches. This dress seems suited to sedan-chairs; and though Governor Winthrop had a sedan-chair in Boston in 1640, when few Europeans had

seen them, and fewer owned them, and though sedan-chairs, both private and for hire, were in ample number in the eighteenth century in all our larger American cities, still American women were not of a nature for sedan-chairs. It was a time, too, of very flat coquetry and inane idleness, a time when musk was constantly used, a rococo time — and American women are not rococo nor idle. The first distinct change came in 1770, in hair-dressing; the very tight-drawn small heads, accented in their smallness by the spreading hoops, were to be replaced in Marie Antoinette's time by some of the greatest monstrosities in head-gear that a civilized world (or indeed an uncivilized) has ever known.

There was a simple dress, which was worn fifty years before the Watteau dress was known, was not vanquished while the coquettish French robe was the rage, and continued to be worn after the sacque disappeared and until the short-waisted empire robes were the mode. I do not mean, of course, that it never varied, but it varied little. It was a rather plain, gathered, full skirt, a pointed waist low in the neck, with a ruffled elbow-sleeve.

We have in America many portraits of women with a dress such as was much painted by Sir Peter Lely in his later work. The hair and shape of the bodice differ from the beautiful portraits of the time of Charles II. The hair is more graceful, being raised unpowdered in a light roll, sometimes with a suggestion of a parting, and with a loose curl on the left shoulder. The modest low neck has a ruffle of white, either of close lace or of mull or lawn, which

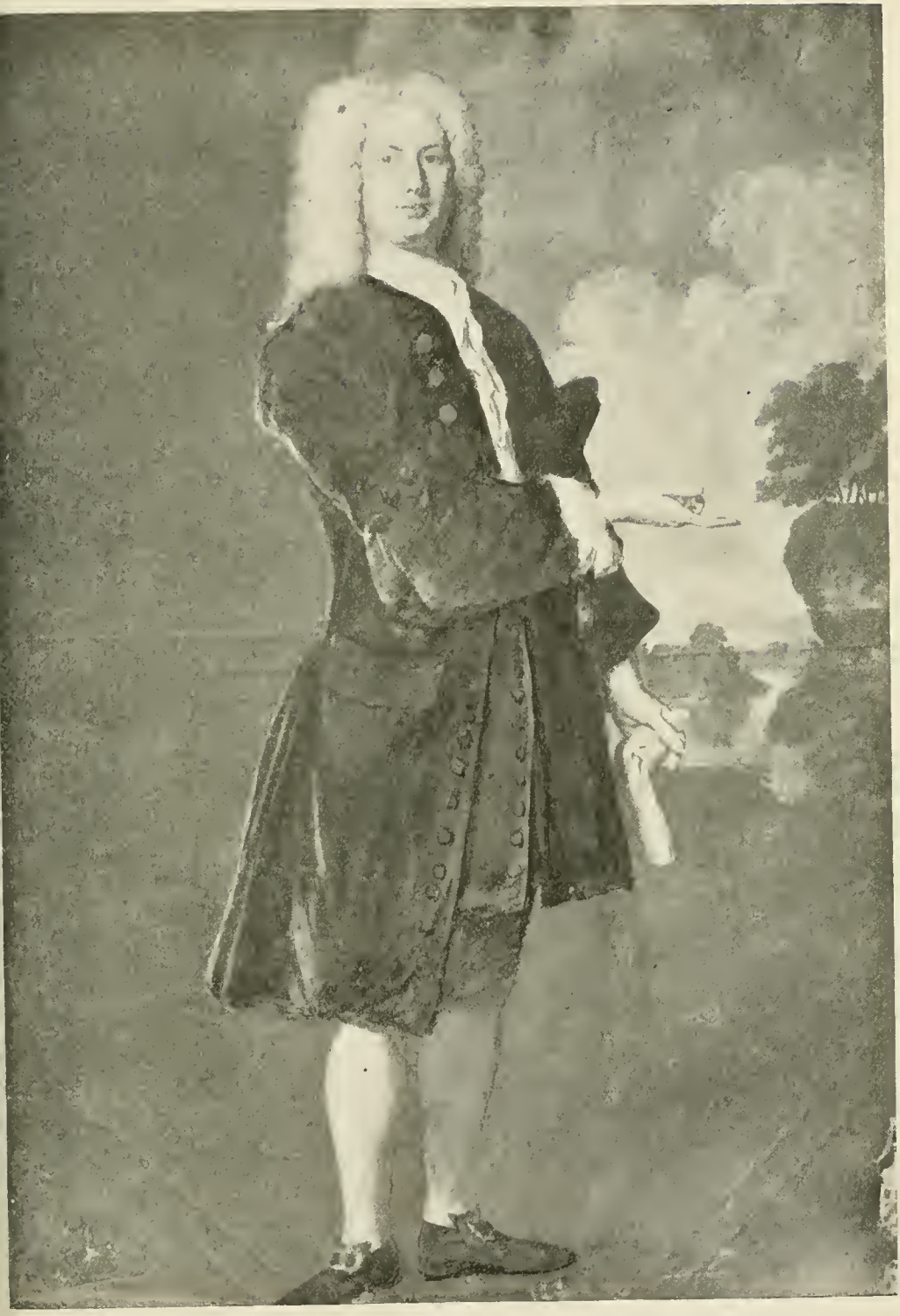
is fulled scantly into a little tucker or ruffle at the middle of the bosom. The sleeves vary, often opening over a loose, plain undersleeve of white. Often a rich *ouche* or ornament, a pendent pearl perhaps, catches the slash of the sleeve. With it were worn elbow-ruffles. It is a good dress, simple rather than graceful. You can see it with slight variations on many of the mid-pages of this book. The first woman of any prominence to wear it, I find from the full notes I have made of hundreds of English portraits, was Queen Anne, as shown in her portrait of 1695. She was painted then by Dahl with her poor little son William. The Duchess of Marlborough is a still more familiar example of the dress. This dress was before commode-time, and all through commode-time. The waist was small, and tightly stayed, and seemed smaller from the spread of the hooped skirt; but the general figure of women at that time

1727. Fair Evelyn Byrd. d. 1737.

demanded a small waist. The shoulders were not broad, the arms were slender — a great waist would have been incongruous indeed.

The lovely portrait of fair Evelyn Byrd may be taken as an example of the simple dignity of the dress of that date. The beautiful girl was painted in England by Sir Godfrey Kneller, when she was presented at court. The fragile fan she carried at her presentation is still preserved among the precious relics at Brandon. The romance of the short life of this fair Evelyn was her love for Charles Mordaunt, the grandson of Lord Peterborough. But the Peterboroughs were leading Roman Catholics, and William Byrd, her father, was a staunch churchman. She was deported from England to Westover-on-the-James, her father's Virginian home, and, "refusing all offers from other gentlemen, died of a broken heart." On her tombstone we read that "God was pleased to call this Lady on the 13th Day of November, 1737, in the 29th year of her Age." The portrait was painted probably in 1727, or within a year of that time. She wears a rose in her hair, and a scarlet bird (an allusion to her name) is perched in the shrubbery at the right hand. Her lovely hands bind flowers around a simple straw hat.

Facing this page is a portrait of Mary Burnet Browne of Salem, Massachusetts. She was the daughter of Governor Burnet, and granddaughter of Bishop Burnet, the chronicler of the reign of King Charles I. She was reared in one of the finest homes in the colonies; her father lived in great luxury. As an example of his house-furnishing, let



William Browne. married 1738.

me state that in the inventory of his estate at his death the pewter had what would be a value to-day of over a thousand dollars, and the china and glass over two thousand. He had eleven hundred and seventy-two ounces of large silverware, and an infinite number of small pieces. He had a collection of prints, and one hundred and fifty pictures, four pieces of rich tapestry, and "a fine piece of needlework representing a rustick," which may have been the tapestry given to Bishop Burnet by William of Orange. His furniture was superb; part of it is in the library of Yale University. In his cellar were twelve hundred bottles of wine, many flasks of Canary, a pipe of Madeira, a quarter cask of Fayal.

Governor Montgomery, his successor, also had rich belongings, and the finest wines in the country. Indeed, a wine cellar of a value of $50,000 would be a goodly belonging to-day.

Madam Browne died in her twenty-third year, though I think her portrait looks twice that age. In Mr. Lynde's diary, 1737, we read, "Coz. W. Browne set out for N. York where in November he married Mrs. Mary Burnet, ye late Gov.r. Burnet's only daughter then $14\frac{1}{2}$ years old and brot her home in May." She left two children. Her husband, though he married a second wife, never ceased to mourn her; and at his death was buried by her side. In his will made late in life he termed her "my dear, my beloved, my affectionate, and my constant wife, friend, and companion"; and he added that she was "the best wife and best earthly friend any

mortal could boast of." The portraits of the twain went to Virginia with the fine Holbein portrait of Sir Anthony Browne, an ancestor who by royal favor and grant "need not unbonnet before the King." The great hatchment, used at funerals in the family until Revolutionary times, remained in Massachusetts, and is now in my cousin's home.

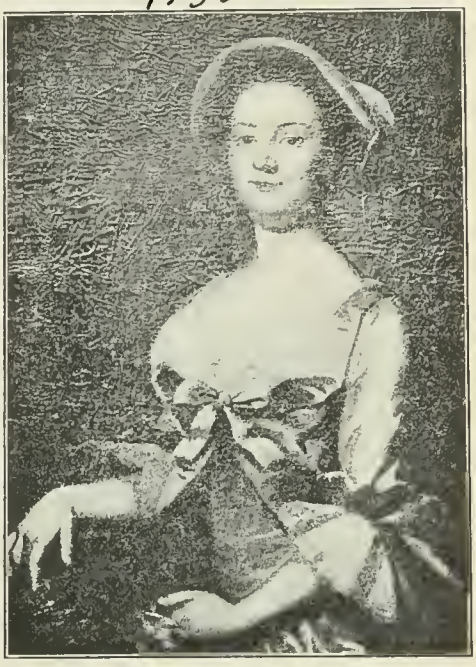
In the background of her portrait is seen Folly Hall, the Salem home of this happy married pair. It was built in 1740, and was a copy of the old Browne manor-house in Lancashire. It was a noble house, with many rooms, and a great hall with a gallery for musicians. It was sawed apart; some portions were pulled down, and others carted away. The fields and gardens where it stood are now untilled; and when I visited last summer this home of my ancestors, every inch of ground was a blaze of glory with the golden bloom of broom, the sole relic of all the luxuries and necessities of life which came so lavishly from England to that remote New England home.

To show how little the fashions changed as the years went on, look at the mid-century portrait of Martha Washington (when she was the Widow Custis). See also the portrait of a Virginia dame, Elizabeth Carter, who married the third William Byrd, and died when twenty-eight years old, in 1760. Her plump, complacent face displays the apple-cheeks and double chin of good health, and a smile also of much self-satisfaction. Her buxom figure is well revealed in a pale blue gown, with rich lace at the elbow-sleeves. She wears a simple but prettily shaped hat on her

B. 1713. Mary Burnet Browne. married at 14½

dark head. She had rather a hard time in life in spite of her careless eyes and satisfied air, for she grieved bitterly for the little sons who were sent away from her to school in England; and she had a mother-in-law; — a mother-in-law who wrote sharply of Betty's frivolity and extravagance, and said the silly creature would think herself ruined "if she could not have two new lutestring gowns every year." With due respect to the economical head of the house, two new rich gowns would not seem over many for the wife of so prominent a citizen, nor for the daughter of Secretary Carter. It is the tradition that the prudent elder Madam Byrd hid Betty's finery upon the top of a great wardrobe; at any rate, this hearty young woman, so full of life and strength, was killed by the pulling over and falling over upon her of a heavy wardrobe which she was searching.

1732 - 1760



Mrs. Betty Carter Byrd. H. 1760

The shocking news was brought to Colonel Byrd as he sat at cards at a neighbor's house, playing, it is told, with the very Molly Willing who became Willing Molly, and married him speedily — within a year.

It is curious to note, in the oldest gowns I have seen, that the method of cutting and shaping the waist or body is precisely the same as at the present day. The outlines of the shoulder and back seams, of the bust forms, are alike, though not so gracefully curved, and the number of pieces is usually the same. Very good examples to study are the gorgeous brocaded gowns exhibited in the Boston Art Museum. Two are presented in this book.

Nor have we to-day any richer or more beautiful stuffs for gowns than had our far-away grandmothers. The silks, satins, velvets, and brocades which wealthy colonists imported for the adornment of their wives and daughters, and for themselves, cannot be excelled by the work of modern looms; and the few laces were equally beautiful.

Whitefield complained justly and more than once of the "foolish virgins of New England covered all over with the Pride of Life"; especially of their gaudy dress in church, which the Abbé Robin also remarked, saying it was the only theatre New England women had for the display of their finery. Other clergymen, as Manasseh Cutler, noted with satisfaction that "the congregation was dressed in a very tasty manner."

Though the shops were full of rich stuffs, there was no ready-made clothing for women for sale either in outside garments or in under-linen. Occasionally, by the latter part of the eighteenth century, we read the advertisement of a "vandoo" of "full-made gowns, petticoats and sacs of a genteel lady of highest fashion,"—a notice which reads un-

1700-

Green Brocaded Satin Gown.

commonly like the "forced sales" of the present day of mock outfits of various kinds.

A very interesting link of kinship in my own family has ever been to me the marriage of the daughter of Lady Alice Lisle, the martyr to English law, to Dr. Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College. After the doctor's death, she married a Boston merchant named Usher; and at her own death in 1725 her clothing was sent back to England to her daughter. In the list of her "apparell" made by Judge Samuel Sewall, the executor, is the only reference I have ever found to woollen underclothing; with the holland linen shifts he names one flannel shift. Other items of interest are nine aprons, "five of them short," nine hoods "of various sorts," four head-dresses, three pairs of pockets, one stomacher, eighteen handkerchiefs, "one red silk Purse filled with Knots and Girdles." All the garments seem to have had rich linings. "One New Suit of blew Damask Lined with blew Lutestring; one Satin Night-gown and Coat Lined with Red Lutestring; One full Suit of Striped Satin lined with Cloth-colour'd Lutestring." There were several silk nightgowns, quilted coats, three bonnets, three pairs of stays, stockings, scarfs, screens. It may be noted in this and in other inventories of the garments of elderly ladies that there was no sobering or darkening of colors on account of the age of the women. Old ladies wore light blue and saffron and "pinck-colour" just as did young girls. In fact the richest and brightest tinted brocades were worn by elderly women.

We have excellent descriptions of English dress through the agreeable pages of Mrs. Delany, a delightful old lady who was attached to the court for many years, and wrote many sprightly letters of the court doings.

She knew great folk intimately, observed their dress minutely, recorded it carefully. The sacques and gowns of the Duchess of Portland and her interesting family were more hung with "coloured jewels and diamonds" than those of American ladies of wealth — but the gowns themselves, on both sides of the ocean, were of the same fashion. In 1733 Mrs. Delany herself wore at a wedding of "Cousin Spencer" (Georgiana Carteret and John Spencer, brother of Duke of Marlborough) a brocaded lutestring, white ground with "great ramping flowers of purples, reds, and greens." She adds, "I shall wear dark purple and gold ribbon and a black hood for decency's sake." In 1738 she wore at a royal birthday "pink damask, white and gold handkerchief, plain green ribbon, and Lady Sunderland's buckles for my stays." There was much borrowing of finery constantly going on. The queen even borrowed rich jewels for her coronation. In these she made "a good showish figure." Mrs. Delany's description of the caps, which she calls "frippery whims," is very striking. One was "a French cap of blond which stood in the form of a butterfly with wings not quite extended, frilled lappets crossed under the chin and tied with pink and green ribbons — "a feast she was." Some of these "chapsey" gowns she described at length.

Light Blue Brocaded Satin Gown. 1734

Embroidery prevailed. Her own needlework was exquisite, but she deemed her designs too restricted, too simple. Silver ostrich feathers and purple violets embroidered on a dove-colored gown produced a modest effect, but was lost beside other court robes, as we can believe from her descriptions: —

"The Duchess of Bedford's petticoat was green paduasoy, embroidered very richly with gold and silver and a few colours; the pattern was festoons of shells, coral, corn, corn-flowers, and sea-weeds; everything in different works of gold and silver except the flowers and coral, the body of the gown white satin, with a mosaic pattern of gold facings, robings and train the same of the petticoat; there was abundance of embroidery, and many people in gowns and petticoats of different colours. My Lord Baltimore was in light brown and silver, his coat lined *quite through* with ermine. His lady looked like a *frightened owl*, her locks strutted out and most furiously greased, or rather gummed and powdered; Lady Percival very fine in white satin, embroidered with gold and silver; Lady Carteret in a feuille mort uncut velvet, trimmed with silver flounces — grave and handsome; Miss Carteret a flowered silk with coloured flowers, and glittering with all her mama's jewels; she danced with a very good air, her person is really fine; but my Lady Carteret's agreeable countenance and easy air pleased me more than younger beauties. Miss Fortescue looked like Cleopatra in her bloom; I thought her *the handsomest woman* at the ball; she was in pink and silver, and very well drest."

Mrs. Delany was held to be a woman of unerring taste; but she has placed her taste on record in these words which she wrote in 1740, describing a reception at the residence of the Prince of Wales: —

40. "The Duchess of Queensberry's clothes pleased me best. They were white satin embroidered, the bottom of the petticoat *brown hills* covered with all sorts of weeds, and every breadth had *an old stump of a tree* that run up almost to the top of the petticoat, broken and ragged, or worked

Mrs. Curwen.

with brown chenille, round which twined nasturtiums, ivy, honeysuckles, periwinkles, convolvuluses, and all sorts of twining flowers, which spread and covered the petticoat. Vines with the leaves variegated, as you have seen them by the sun, all rather smaller than nature which makes them look very light; the robings and facings were little green banks with all sorts of weeds, and the sleeves and the rest

of the gown loose twining branches of the same sort as those on the petticoats: many of the leaves were finished with gold, and part of the stumps of the trees looked like the gilding of the sun."

In another letter she describes a similar monstrosity, and deplores her labor spent on a simpler sprig embroidery when she might have accomplished a robe so much more striking.

"A petticoat embroidered with chenille, the pattern a *large stone vase* filled with *ramping flowers* that spread almost over a breadth of the petticoat from the bottom to the top: between each vase of flowers was a pattern of gold shells and foliage, embossed, and most heavily rich; the gown was white satin, embroidered also with chenille mixt with gold ornaments, no vases on the *sleeve*, but *two or three on the tail*."

There was a certain type of woman's dress which was worn in this century in many shapes and in rich and varied materials: sacques, "polonezes," levites, trollopees, negligées, slammerkins — all forms of the same loose dress. Women wore hoops and paniers, and stays and stomachers. Capuchins, cardinals, riding-hoods — all were forms of the same hooded cloak.

We are constantly reading references in old letters and descriptions to sacques — French sacques. We now use the word "sack" or sacque for a loose outer garment, but a hundred and fifty years ago it referred to a gown. A careful drawing of a sacque exists in a New England family with full descriptions and rules for the making. It is precisely the dress shown

facing this page; it opens in front over a handsome petticoat. It is familiar to us in Watteau's pictures; indeed it is often called a Watteau sacque.

Among the many silly communications to the newspapers of the day, occasionally a few lines of description will be found which are worth reading. Part of the *Receipt for Modern Dress*, 1753, ran: —

> "Let your gown be a sacque, blue, yellow or green,
> And frizzle your elbows with ruffles sixteen;
> Furl off your lawn apron with flounces in rows,
> Puff and pucker up lace on your arms and your toes;
> Make your petticoats short that a hoop eight yards wide
> May daintily show how your garters are tied."

These sacques varied in material. In 1751 there were advertised in the *Boston Evening Post*, "white calico with work'd sprigs for sacks," and "Rich Tobine & tissues for men & women's wear, chiefly Gowns and Sacks."

The sacques worn everywhere were made, in 1781, "with scarcely any figure in the back; train with a Sash tyed the Right side: in Winter of white Dimity; in Summer Muslin, with chintz borders."

The negligée, or sacque, was a costly dress. It took many yards of silk to make one. We learn this from such letters as this of William Mollison's, of the 8th of November, 1766, to Captain C. Ridgely, of Baltimore: —

"You wrote for a piece of Lutestring, which Mrs. Mollison thinks you must only have meant a sufficient quantity for a Negligee & therefore by her advice I have only sent a proper quantity for that, a *piece* would have made *four*

1750

Sacque worn by Mrs. Carroll. 1700-1800.

*gowns.* I hope I have done right . . . all the things for her have been chosen by Mrs. Mollison. I could not get in London a piece of India chintz that I liked & therefore have omitted it for the present. . . . Mrs. Mollison desires her compliments & that you will tell Mrs. Ridgely

Martha Custis.

the fashionable trimmings for a Black Satten is a narrow black Lace which is sent & that the Lutestring must be trimmed with its own silk edge with a narrow white Blond Lace, which is sent for that purpose.

Another form of polonaise was called a Levite. Lady Cathcart, an American by birth, writing to her aunt in 1781, gave thus the London Fashions: —

"They wear for morning a white poloneze or a dress they call a Levete, which is a kind of gown and Peticote, with long sleeves made with scarcely any pique in the back, and worn with a sash tyed on the left side. They make these in winter of white dimity, and in Summer of Muslin with Chints borders."

This explains the advertisements, in the *Boston Evening Post* of 1783, of "callicoes for Levites."

The Levite was originally a long, straight frock-coat somewhat like that worn by a priest. Horace Walpole satirized it as resembling "a man's night-gown tied round with a belt." The robe Levite imitated it with a train added. A "monkey-tailed Levite" had a curiously twisted train, and was a French fashion. In the translation, by Mrs. Cashel Hoey, of Robida's *Ten Centuries of Toilette*, there is shown on page 177 a Levite robe — and a very modish-looking garment it is. The word "Levite," like the robe, is now obsolete.

The Watteau-back sacques were worn very low in the bust. Sometimes a large ruff was fastened around the bare neck; a smaller ruche or ribbon was still more common, as is shown in the beautiful portrait facing this page, that of Madam Scott of Boston. She has a small, closely dressed head, and the pretty, ornamental throat-band. For many years this band lingered, dying out in the narrow black velvet such as is shown in the portrait of Madam Dorothy Lynde Dix.

The open gown which was looped at the sides and trailing behind was sometimes called a polonese. The Century Dictionary says these were worn

1780

Mrs. Scott. about 1783

"toward the close of the eighteenth century," and Fairholt gives the date of introduction as 1770; but both are entirely wrong, for even in America "polonees" were advertised in 1755, in the *Boston Evening Post*. The next year, in the same newspaper, they were spelt polonese; and the following year, pullanees; and in 1758, pullonees. They must have been known in England at a much earlier date.

A description given of an "Irish polonese" in 1774 in the *Lady's Magazine* conveys a good notion of the shape of the garment. "It buttons half down the arm, no ruffles, quite straight in the back, and buttons down before and flies off behind till there is nothing but a kind of role behind except the petticoat, a large hood behind the neck." I have never seen a polonaise with a hood; that may have been the Irish portion of it.

Another name for these loose, ruffled gowns was slamkin or slammerkin, which later became an opprobrious term applied to a slattern. These two words and shambling are evidently allied; slam also is a word applied to an ill-shaped, shambling fellow. All are derived from the German *schlampe*, a slattern. It is an ugly name, but it was used for some years.

Of course, when the open sacques, negligées, and polonaises were so much worn, and the petticoat was consequently so exposed to view, it became a still more important and costly article of attire than in early colonial days.

In the year 1688 was introduced to Fashion one of the most charming accessories which women's dress has ever known, namely, lace elbow-ruffles.

They may be termed the typical feminine sleeve of the eighteenth century, as the virago-sleeve was of the preceding century.

We may say that engageants appeared with the cravat and the commode, — they were sister frivolities, — but the commode was meaningless, and naturally found its time and season very short, while the others were what might be termed natural and reasonable fashions; one was a suitable and sensible, as well as charming, finish to a sleeve, the cravat a graceful finish at the throat. Engageants remained in fashion till the time of the French Revolution; indeed, with very short temporary disappearances they have been popular ever since. In the *Mercure Galant*, 1683, we read that two elbow-ruffles of fine and wide "fil de point" are the fashion, and that such sleeves are called "Engageantes." A year or two later we read of "Engageantes of Malines lace." The word was adopted at once by English women. Evelyn says in his *Mundus Muliebris*, 1690, "About her sleeves are engageants." And the *Ladies' Dictionary* of the same date calls them engageants, and describes them fully. In the lace bills of Queen Mary in 1694, are "broad engageants of Point lace," and "double engageants." I will not call attention to the portraits in this book which show these elbow-ruffles — they are too numerous; nor need I multiply references such as this entry of Mrs. Delany's in 1756: —

"Mrs. Spencer's negligee sleeves are *treble*; the ruffles are much the same as at Bath, long at the elbow and pretty narrow at top.

Silk Gown and Petticoat.

These engageants have been varied in shape, in depth, in width, in ornamentation, but custom cannot stale their infinite variety ; they are ever pleasing, ever satisfying, ever becoming. We can say of them in the expressive phrase of praise used by old Pepys, they are "the best flowers blooming in the garden."

Accompanying the sleeve-ruffle were several new

gown trimmings. Furbelows were invented — falbalas — by one Langlée, son of a waiting-maid of the French queen. These were quilled pleatings, or narrow flounces pinked, hemmed, lace-edged, disposed often in curving lines, such as we now term festoon-shape. They were used lavishly on the petticoat and sparingly on the trained overdress or sacque, provided that sacque were not looped up at the sides.

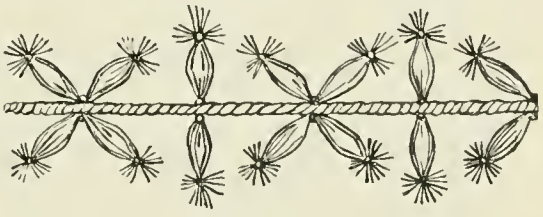
Another novelty were *prétintailles*, appliqués of colored figures, cut from brocaded materials and sewed upon other backgrounds, sometimes very thin ones, with unusual embroidery stitches. Two breadths of a sacque I have before me, which were formerly the plait at the back of a Watteau sacque of the year 1740. The material is a salmon-pink thin silk, stronger than a sarcenet and thinner, yet not exactly a silk gauze. It is something like a Liberty silk. It is faded nearly white, save under the figures. These are dark green velvet leaves and single great pink flowers like magnolias or tulip-tree blossoms. The coral tint of the outer petals, the light pink and the dark green of the velvet, give it all the coloring of an open watermelon. The petticoat was of coral pink with furbelows of pinked-out silk of the different melon tints. It must have been a smart and handsome thing in its day. Another sacque of bright pink satin had *prétintailles* of scarlet velvet, a lattice-work of inch-wide white Swiss lace insertion forming part of the pattern. This is a distinct novelty which might be revived and adopted to-day, the lattice of insertion with appliqué

Gold-covered Brocade Gown of Mrs. Eliza Lucas Pinckney.

vines. A pair of high-heeled, purple kid shoes has always been kept with this gown, and is believed to have been worn with it, for the lining of the flaps is scarlet. A design of gold beads is sewn on these shoe-flaps. They seem dull and ugly in color with the vivid-hued green.

Besides the furbelows and *prétintailles*, or "what-nots," were hurly-burlies and *fanfreluches* — little puffs of silk or gauze.

Ruffles gathered or pleated in the middle, or on either or both edges, and disposed in various waving, circling, or even regular parallel forms on the gown or polonaise, were called robings. Many and ingenious were the ways in which these were plaited and twisted into ruches, rolls, folds, and bands. They were often made of strips of the dress material, and I have seen them of gauze ribbons and of pinked silk. Pinking was very fashionable in those mid-century years, even on the heaviest silk and velvet. Robings and cuffings were constantly advertised for sale in the middle years of the eighteenth century. I have no doubt that the handsome trimmings of fine silk cord, knotted with gold-colored silk and fly-fringe and woven to match the gold brocade gown (shown facing the previous page), were called robings.



Fly-fringe.

Fly-fringe was a universal trimming of the eighteenth century. It is composed, as you may see,

of simple tufts of silk, alternating two and four tufts.

This gold-colored silk robe was made of silk raised and spun by Eliza Lucas Pinckney, who was, perhaps, the most remarkable of all South Carolina women. She introduced indigo-culture to the state, bringing thereby vast wealth and prosperity.

The plaited ruffles disposed in semicircles and waves on Mrs. Rudd's gown were known as robings, as were similar undulatory ruffles on Mrs. Mercy Warren's polonaise.

The portrait of Mrs. Daniel Horry had some exceedingly delicate robings made for the gown in the shades of light blue, pale green, and raisin tints of the figures of the brocade of the gown. The dress, fan, and exact attitude of the original portrait of Mrs. Horry, of Hampton, South Carolina, are here displayed upon Mrs. Horry's great-granddaughter. Mrs. Horry was the daughter of Eliza Lucas Pinckney.

Some of these gowns with their fal-lals and robings show to me plainly the source of Aubrey Beardsley's whimsies. He never wholly escaped the influence of *The Rape of the Lock*, his earliest important work, but carried the modes of that day into all his illustrations, even of the ancient classics.

In addition to the artists named in the previous chapter, to depict in perfection for us the Levite, sacque, and cardinal, we have Copley.

In the spring of the year 1774, Copley was thirty-seven years of age, and he sailed for Europe. His son, Lord Lyndhurst, declared late in life that Copley

had then never seen a decent painting, though I think that there is ample proof in the pages of this book that there were more than decent portraits to be seen. However, he had had no instruction, as Pelham and Smybert had died when he was fourteen —if they could have taught him anything. After a few weeks he started for Italy, where he had, as congenial travelling companions, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard. Izard was a rich South Carolinian indigo-planter, who had been educated in England. His wife was Alice de Lancey of New York. Copley painted their portraits in Rome on a single canvas. This was his first group and the only portraits he painted while in Italy. He was to receive £200 for it; but the war of the American Revolution made it impossible for Mr. Izard to pay for it or even take it. After Copley's death in 1815, his widow retained it for ten years, when Izard's

Mrs. Ralph Izard.

grandson, Charles Manigault, found it, bought it, and brought it to Charleston, and the Manigault family have owned it till this year. Mr. Izard is in grayish buff broadcloth, a beautiful tint — the one described by Governor Hutchinson in a preceding chapter of this book. Mrs. Izard is in Copley's favorite blue-green, but a much better color than his wife's gown because greener and less startling. It is the same nasturtium-leaf tint as the sacque of Mrs. Mercy Warren. They are seated on either side of a table with gilt frame and red porphyry top. The furniture-covering and draperies are old-rose damask. In the middle distance can be seen the marble group, *Orestes and Elektra*, which was in the Villa Lodovisi. Mrs. Izard has apparently drawn this group, and shows her drawing to her husband. The Colosseum is in the background.

Mrs. Izard was a graceful and beautiful creature, and her great refinement is shown in her dress. It was at a time when filigree trimmings and cheap paste ornaments were much worn, but her dress is noticeably simple. Her gown is a Watteau sacque of plain taffeta. Her gauze apron is absolutely plain, and her charming cap is of plaited fine mull or lawn, and has a pretty little close trimming of satin ribbon. These look like little overlapping squares, but it is really a ribbon ruche. I have a lace cap of that date with the precise trimming, and it is made of white satin ribbon plaited in a certain manner, with the plaits turned all the same way, and not sewed down on the face of the trimming, but left loose and pulled over flat into the little overlapping lozenges.

about 1770.

Brocade Gown of Mrs. Daniel Horry.

This same shaped cap, sometimes a bit longer, sometimes smaller, was very fashionable. I have grouped some of the illustrations from *Town and Country* on page 486, to show these "dormouse" caps. These are said to be portraits of London women who were much in the public eye, and their dresses serve as fashion-plates. Little white ribbon plaitings and ruchings and robings of various forms are on them all. Milliners tired their brains inventing new robings, and brought out one after the other until the fashion was worn out — and the inventors also.

Copley was fortunately a great lover of fine dress. His granddaughter says that "the beautiful costumes which we admire to-day on the stately portraits of our grandmothers' times were the results of his combined taste and study." He had theories about women's dress, which he carried out with scrupulous elaboration in his portraits. Not only the dress, the hair, the jewels, were much thought upon, but other adjuncts were studied, and their values weighed; birds, a spaniel, or his favorite squirrel, seen in several portraits, were never painted by accident. His own dress was rich and full of color. Trumbull found him in rich claret color — a favorite either of his or of the day, for it is seen in many of his masculine portraits. He bought in Genoa, in 1774, lace ruffles, silk stockings, rich Genoese velvet for a coat, and crimson satin to line it. He writes to his wife, "I believe you will think I have become a beau to dress in so rich a suit of clothes; and truly I am a little tinctured; but you must remember you thought I was too careless about my dress. I wish to reform

1770.

Caps with Ribbon Ruches.

from all my errors, and particularly from those that are most painful to you."

Aprons varied from year to year in form. In 1744 they were worn so long that careless girls were

Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard. 1770. By Copley.

warned severely not to tread upon them when walking, but to lift them daintily. They covered the petticoat, which was displayed by the open-fronted robe. Even Queen Anne wore these aprons, and they often formed part of a wedding dress. In 1752 they were shortened. A year or two later efforts were made to make them unfashionable, but a lace apron was too pretty a thing and too costly to be lightly cast off. They appear still in every inventory. Sometimes they were attached to a stomacher and were then usually of brocade. In the portraits of Mrs. Izard and of Mrs. Cadwalader in this chapter both wear handsome lace aprons. Letters were written clamoring for patterns for drawn-work and other embroideries for aprons. As tidy adjuncts to preserve the dress, aprons lingered to our own day. The sculptor Nollekens relates that his wife wore on her wedding-day "a sacque and petticoat of the most expensive brocaded white silk, resembling network, enriched with small flowers, which displayed in the variation of the folds a most delicate shade of pink, the uncommon beauty of which was greatly admired. The deep and pointed stomacher was exquisitely guimped and pinked, and at the lower part was a large pin, consisting of several diamonds, confining an elegant point lace apron." This description, even the dress of pink, might serve as an attire of "Dorothy Q.," Mrs. Hancock (given in this chapter). The gimped and pinked stomacher, lace apron, and cap are the same.

This day of hoop and hood was one of curious contrasts and incongruities. We find these sacques

and Levites and negligées hanging loose from the neck, flowing apparently in easy undress fashion. Indeed, the name "flying-gown" was given to these sacques. We find the hood thrown negligently on the head, or hanging dangling on the arm, and the apron, certainly not a formal dress, was also worn everywhere. But the negligées and the ease and the abandon were all artificial, like the times. Underneath the sacque, women were laced up in the fiercest of stays; and under the furbelowed petticoat was a rigid hoop. So little of the bodice was definitely outlined that such heavy stays seem wholly superfluous. But sometimes the gown was without a sacque back, and then the corsets were worn outside the chemisette, and formed the bodice. Sometimes a whaleboned stomacher or forebody was worn under the sacque. There was never any total ease or relaxation for the body of the wearer; for if the stays had yielded, the hoop still

Stomacher and Apron of Figured Damask.

Mrs. Livingstone.

dominated. Variations in dress during these years came chiefly through changes in the shape of hoops.

In 1713 there was printed in Boston a pamphlet entitled *A Satyr, in Verse, origin of the Whalebone Petticoat.* This was not the first straw to show which way the wind blew. As usual the first note of alarm came from the parsons; allusions in sermons show that hoops were trundling into Boston. In 1701 a correspondent of Judge Sewall's had written to him in puritanical alarm of hooped petticoats that they "trenched on morality." In 1722 a little book was offered for sale in Boston for a few pennies, "intituled" *Hoop Pettycoats Arraigned and Condemned by the Light of Nature and Laws of God.* Evidently Judge Sewall did not regard them as immoral or irreligious, for he permitted his granddaughter, Mary Hirst, to receive one from her bridegroom, William Pepperell, as a wedding gift.

Soon hoop coats, hooped coats, hooped petticoats, long-bone hoops, short-bone hoops, hooping holland, Quhaill bone, and reeds were offered for sale on all sides. Thrifty Merchant Amory in 1728 shipped back to England a consignment of petticoats because they were too scant in width to wear with hoops. Some of these hoops were five yards in circumference. Bell hoops were offered in 1731; fan hoops in 1758. Pocket hoops to spread out the paniers were worn on each hip in 1750. Mrs. Delany wrote thus in 1756: —

"Hoops are as flat as if made of pasteboard, and as stiff, the shape sloping from the hip and spreading at the bottom,

enormous but *not* so ugly as the *square* hoops. There *are hopes* they will be reduced to a very small size, and two very fine fashionable ladies appeared at Court with *very small ones*. I expect soon to see the other extreme of thread-paper heads and no hoops, and from appearing like so many *blown bladders* we shall look like so many *bodkins stalking about*."

The word "pannier" applied to a hoop has one of the strangest and most distasteful, as well as silly derivations of any of our many strange dress names. It is such a "witless bravery"—to use Shakespere's words. A well-known official, a Master of Requests named Panier or Pannier, perished in a shipwreck on his voyage home to France from the Antilles, and his name was given to an article of dress which might well have had the same name in a less heedless and heartless way. For some time the large panniers went by the name *maître des requêtes*. I think none but French women could have done this.

The pretty sacque-gown of Mrs. Carroll was made to wear with a much larger hoop than is shown in the photograph; a pannier hoop, too, which naturally could not be supplied in 1903.

But it is surprising that so few of our portraits display the hoop when we remember its dominance. Artists both in England and America seem to have been a bit shy about perpetuating such extremes as commode and hoop. Madam Flucker's portrait painted by Feke gives a faithful presentation of the Boston hoop of her day worn below a fiercely laced and lengthened waist; she looks like a maid of honor of the English court. She was a very

1740.

Mrs. Judith Bowdoin Flucker. 1740.

Lived 1719-1744.

PROPERTY OF
THE ... SOCIETY AS


fashionable woman and she had the aristocratic bearing, the elegant carriage of her family. She was Judith Bowdoin, sister of Governor Bowdoin, who founded Bowdoin College. She was born March, 1719; and in 1744 was married to Thomas Flucker. This portrait must have been painted at about this time.

Several of her kinsfolk are shown in these pages; for they seem, as a family, to have loved to have their portraits painted. They had great wealth, and they were handsome; two very good reasons for this love of placing their faces on canvas. I should fancy they were both proud and vain — they had reason to be — of themselves and each other. I can see little harm in having pride in handsome and good and intelligent men, and in handsome and good and lovable women; nor can I see how any woman could be so handsome and not be vain. It is an amiable and harmless failing, one we would all doubtless succumb to had we the faces of these Bowdoins and their ilk. Lady Temple was a sister of Mrs. Flucker. Her head by Copley is on a later page.

Dr. Manasseh Cutler visited Lady Temple in New York in the first years of our national existence, and she made a profound impression on him. "The greatest beauty I ever saw," he writes, "notwithstanding her age. To a well-proportioned form, a perfectly fair skin, and completely adjusted features, is added a soft but majestic air; an easy and pleasing sociability, a vein of fine sense which commands admiration and infuses delight. Her dress is exceedingly neat and becoming, but not gay. She is

now a grandmother; her real age is forty-four, but I should not suppose her more than twenty-two."

Besides the portrait of Lady Temple in childhood and this fine head by Copley, I have a photograph of a head of her by Gilbert Stuart painted in 1806: and John Trumbull painted a family group, of Sir John and Lady Temple and two children, which I have not deemed interesting or pronounced enough as to costume to reproduce herein.

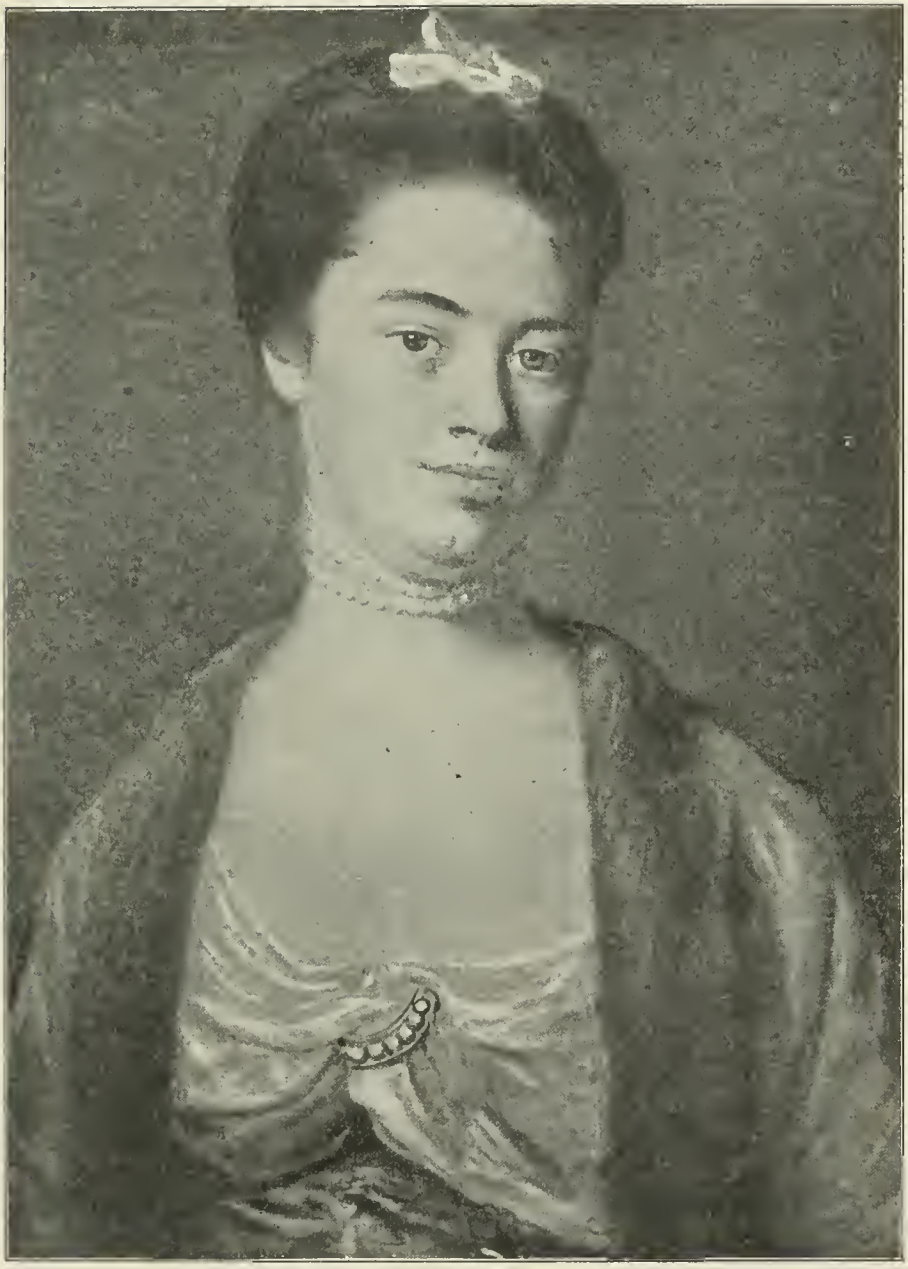
Lady Temple was, as may be seen in her portrait, what old Pepys called "a good-bodied woman, but not over-thick."

Many New England families were assiduous in having their portraits painted. The members of the Pepperell family, I am sure, were unfailing in this duty.

There were in the Pepperell homestead at Kittery, Maine, fifty family portraits, some in hoops and furbelows. The assigned dates of these began about the year 1730. This noble array has been disbanded; the whereabouts of about twenty of the fifty are known. Not only members of the family were painted, but friends gave portraits of themselves to each other. Sir Peter Warren and Sir William Pepperell thus exchanged. The splendid Copley portrait of Colonel Scott was painted for his friend, Joshua Winslow.

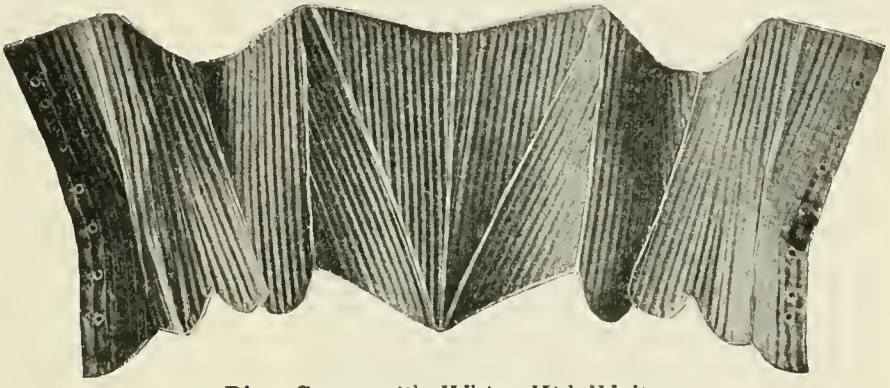
Smart-looking, high-colored embroidered stays were worn outside a chemisette. One continually meets with mention of stays in descriptions of full-dress costume, but I cannot recall seeing them in portraits. I have seen a few that were like a deep,

1806



Lady Temple.

pointed, heavily boned waistband, with straps at the shoulders. In 1734 stays were worn extremely low, and again in 1795, when a paragraph in the *Times* declared, in a satirical comment on the fashions, that "corsettes about six inches long, and a slight buffon tucker of two inches high, are now the only defensive paraphernalia of our fashionable belles between the necklace and the apron strings." The



Blue Stays with White Kid Welts.

high stays worn at several periods were very ugly, and produced an unnatural-looking figure.

These were, to use the extreme expression of approval from the lips of the fribbles of the day, "in the high kick of fashion." Another expressive phrase from a jesting rhyme, —

> "Last Sunday at St. James's prayers
> I drest in all my whalebone airs,"

seems to display to us in the two words "whalebone airs" as clear a picture of the stiffly boned stays and hoop as could be given by the ordinary adjectives of an entire sentence.

We learn of these gay stays through the very prosaic record of articles stolen ; cherry color seems to have been a favorite tint for them. An advertisement of stolen goods runs thus : —

"A black silk petticoat with a red and white calico border, cherry-coloured stays trimmed with blue and silver, a red and dove-coloured damask gown flowered with large trees, a yellow satin apron trimmed with white Persian, and muslin head-cloths with crow-foot edging, double ruffles with fine edging, a black silk furbelowed scarf and a spotted hood."

Among the goods of Benjamin Franklin, printer, which were stolen from his Philadelphia house in 1750, was a pair of women's stays, covered with white tabby before and dove-colored tabby behind, with two large steel hooks. Another pair is described as cherry colored, with white kid welts and silver lace edging. A pair of stays is on the preceding page, which are light blue silk with "white kid welts." They were costly and deservedly so, as they were difficult to shape, and to make neatly ; often a pair would contain sixty or seventy pieces of material, all carefully cut from a rigid pattern. I have counted over eighty pieces in one pair. Whole fronted and laced in the back was the rule of the day in shape. Stern busks give added stiffness of form.

The eighteenth century witnessed many pretty adjuncts of dress besides the engageants, the furbelows, and hurley-burlies.

Every lady carried a fan. It was an indispensable

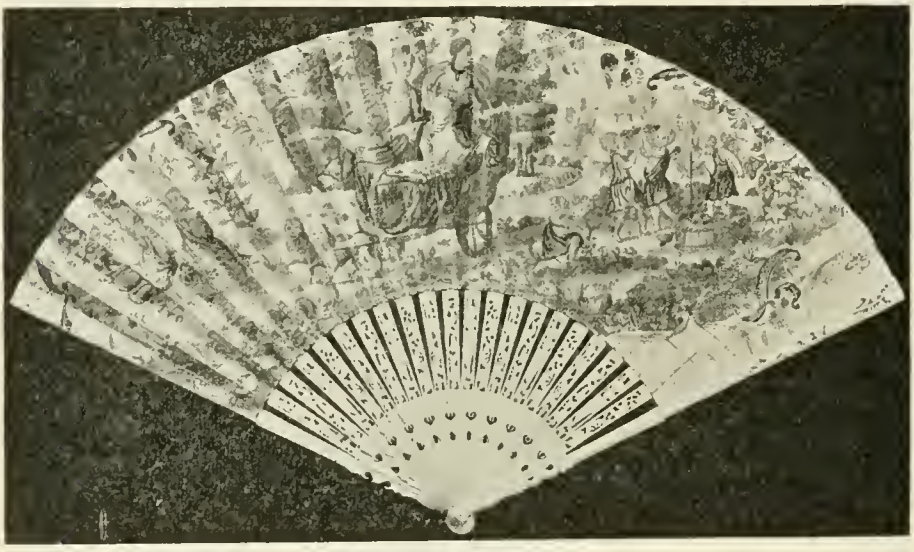
part of a costume. The eighteenth century witnessed the apotheosis of the fan. The fan was so distinctly French in "spirit" that I hardly think of one as important in American dress, while no French costume was complete without one. The management of a fan seems to have been a study in elegance and grace, and the plebeian seldom learned to manage her fan well, even when by circumstance she acquired one.

Fans and Piece of Brocade Gown. Worn by Mrs. John Adams.

I will not attempt to give a history of the fan or its use. It has been ably done by a competent hand and by a Frenchman, Octave Uzanne. When even in the seventeenth century there were more than five hundred manufacturers of fans in Paris, we may know that many of the beautiful things came to America. We have seen how eagerly Madam Symonds sought them in 1685.

In the first news-letters appear these advertisements: —

"George Harding lately from London, now at Mr. John Potters, Confectioners, Mounteth all sorts of Fans as well as any Done in old England. He likewise hath a large Sortment of Curious Mounts which he will dispose of very Reasonably, not purposing to stay long in These Parts."



Old Painted Kid Fan.

By 1732 other fan-mounters had come to town, and set up business on Beacon Street, near the Common.

"The Person that mounts Fans having a Parcel Just arriv'd. All Gentlewomen that Desire to be Supply'd may have them. She intending to Mount no more desires they would be speedy in Coming."

Soon several Boston women supported themselves by fan-making and mending. All kinds of scenes

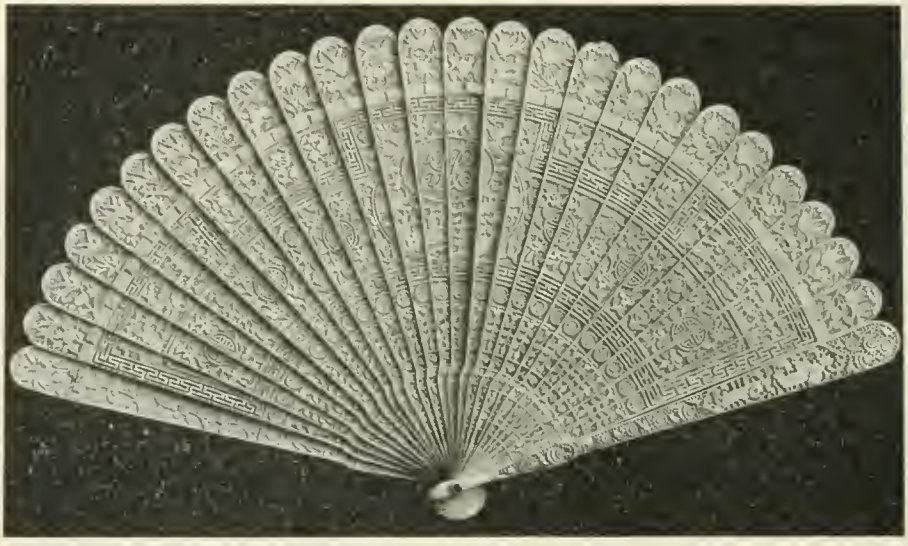
and legends found their way on to the French fan, until, as a correspondent wrote to one of the fashion journals, a lady hardly knew whether to blush before or behind her fan. Under the term "classical," almost anything could be brought before the public; and drawings which would not have been tolerated otherwise were, with that single word for apology, passed from hand to hand to admire. I suspect that Mary, daughter of Deacon Vans, who painted fans in Boston, knew naught of these "classical" subjects.

Nearly all the dresses of this century had breast-knots; and every order sent to England contained breast-knots. Washington ordered them for wife and stepdaughter. You may see them in many of the portraits in this book. They were apparently simple enough. But I presume then, as now, there were some women who could not tie a graceful, pretty knot. They have been made with tasselled ends, or agletted, as in the seventeenth century. A writer in 1720 said: —

"As the breast-knot allows a good deal of ingenuity in the delicate choice of colors and disposition of figure, I think it may be indulged, but very sparingly, and rather with a carelessness than the least affectation. It seems there is a fashion even in the colors of ribbons, and I have observed a beautiful purple to be lately the general mode. It is not the beauty of the color that recommends it, so much as the symbol it is said to bear."

Without books on costume one might know that flowers were soon to appear in dress at this time. For English gardens were being most thought upon;

Addison, Pope, Thomson, Mason, Shenstone, had written upon gardening and gardens. Linnæus was laying out a system of botany. It was a day of arbors, of summer-houses, of grottos. A love of flowers was the rage. Ladies made wonderful herbariums and illustrated flower beds; others painted



Carved Ivory Fan.

and embroidered flowers; and Mrs. Delany cut wonderful flowers from paper. Waxen and silken flowers were made, and flowers of shell. Whole dresses were embroidered with flowers. Natural flowers even appeared upon the breakfast table, where I fancy no one had seen them since Sir Francis Bacon had them.

With the interest in gardens and in botany came an assumption of rural simplicity in dress, came the wear of natural flowers. Fair Evelyn Byrd wreathes

her simple straw hat with a garland of country blossoms. Of course these flowers quickly faded, and a withered knot, dull of color and dead of leaf, is neither beautiful nor becoming; and soon a new means was found to keep these graceful breast-bouquets fresh. Horace Walpole writes in 1754:—

"A new fashion has my Lady Henry brought from France; it is a tin funnel covered with green ribbon and it holds water, which the ladies wear to keep their bouquets fresh."

This was a clumsy thing, and more delicate substances were soon sought, silver and glass. I was much puzzled by the advertisement in the *Boston Evening Post* of July 26, 1756, and in subsequent New England newspapers, of "Bosom Bottles." I now believe them to be small, flat glasses, covered with green ribbon perhaps, like Lady Henry's, which, filled with water, were worn in the stomacher of the dress, and in which the stems of "bosom flowers" were placed. I found two of these bottles, of a flattened pear shape, about four inches in extreme length, of ribbed glass, thrown in an old trunk which had held for nearly a century an honored great-great-aunt's maiden finery. This ownership was a bit puzzling when we considered the accompanying story of the purpose and being of the bottles. And it always seemed to amuse all who saw them and heard the family tradition, which was that these two curious, flat, opalescent glasses were infants' nursing-bottles. It was, one can see, a very natural perversion of their name and nature.

But when their true use was discovered to us we understood why Aunt Vryling Phillips cherished them throughout her long, unmarried life. They were mementoes of a happy girlhood; some lover's gift of rose or violet perfumed to her for half a century these curious bosom bottles.

We must not fall into the notion that every American or every English woman wore a brocade or satin gown or petticoats. There were working-women who had clothes simple of shape and stuff. You can see similar ones in Hogarth if you will, or in other works of his day.

This dress, consisting of a warm, wool gown with double-puffed sleeve, with linen kerchief and collar, white or woollen apron, and loose hood tied under the chin, was seen in scores of prints; such as, for instance, Tempest's *Cries of London*, 1702. If the scene be without-doors, a hat surmounts the hood. A young woman would have her bodice laced or strapped, and have ribbons on her shoes, and pockets on her aprons, and would wear mittens. Sometimes the overskirt was turned up to form what is known as a washer-woman's skirt or apron, and was used by ballad-mongers, and the sellers of the gazettes and news-letters — all tiny sheets — as a deep pocket to hold their wares. A street vendor could also and did carry a basket on her arm, in which she displayed her "Dutch biskets," laces, minikin pins, cotton reels or ribbons.

The skirt did not touch the ground, and the shoes had low heels; the neck was protected by the hood, and the eyes shaded by the hat brim; and I

Mrs. Benjamin Smith. Painted by Jeremiah Theus.

think it altogether a neat, trim, comfortable, warm, sensible dress; one which could be adopted for working-women with advantage to-day. The only improvement would be to have the hair show a bit under the hood; for a woman's face never seems rightly framed unless her hair shows.

I have quoted in the previous chapter a description written by an old gentleman for the Old Colony Memorial at the meeting at Plymouth in 1820 to celebrate the two hundredth year of the settlement of Plymouth. He thus described the dress of plain country women, in the years from 1750 to the Revolution: —

"As for the women, old and young, they wore flannel gowns in winter. The young women wore wrappers in the summer, and about their ordinary business they did not wear stockings and shoes. They were usually contented with one calico gown, and another of camel's hair goods; and some had them made of poplin. The sleeves were short and did not come below the elbow.

"On holidays they wore one, two, or three ruffles on each arm. They wore long gloves coming up to the elbow, fastened by what were called glove-tightens, made of black horsehair. They wore aprons made of checked linen or cotton, and, for holiday use, of white cotton, lawn or cambric.

"They seldom wore caps when about their ordinary affairs; but they had two kinds. One kind they wore when they meant to be much dressed up. One was called a strap-cap; it came under the chin; the other was called round-cord cap, and did not come over the ears.

"They wore thick leather, thin leather, and broadcloth shoes, all with heels an inch and a half high. These had

peaked toes, turned up in a point at the toes. They generally had small, very small muffs; and some wore masks."

In one thing the fifty years of stationary fashions were not idle, — in lace-making. That prospered. More laces were made, and more kinds of laces were made, than ever before. Beautiful new laces were invented. Every one wore lace. Men's neckwear vied with women's "heads." There seemed scarcely lace enough for all demands.

Madame de Pompadour died in 1764 after more than twenty years of absolute control of French internal politics, foreign affairs, the French king, and fashions. Du Barry reigned in her stead over the king and the modes. Poor France! under her everything and everybody sunk very low; too low for Marie Antoinette, when she became queen in 1774, to succeed in pulling up again.

Rebecca Orne.

# CHAPTER XIX

## WOMAN'S HAIR

"*But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her, for her hair is given to her as a covering.*"

— 1 Corinthians xi. 15.

"*If they would keep under a power as they ought to do there should not any Tussocks nor Tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the haire; nor braiding it to have it open. Of these Tussocks laid out now-a-days there is no mention made in the Scripture; because they were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out their hair in such tussocks and tufts.*"

— "Sermon to 'His Sisters the Women,'" Bishop Latimer, 1550.

"*Seabank Hog did say that she would pull off her head-clothes and come to them in her hair, like a parcel of pitiful beggarly black curs that they were.*"

— Testimony at Trial in New Hampshire, Mary Rann, 1686.

# CHAPTER XIX

## WOMAN'S HAIR

THE portraits of Englishwomen contemporary with our first colonists, and the earliest portraits we have of the wives of the emigrants, show little hair, and that little simply dressed. The Lady Armine has prim stiff curls at either side of the face, while a few stray curls may lie on the forehead. Rebecca Rawson has like ringlets. Penelope Winslow's are more luxuriant and beautiful. In general, however, the hair is severely covered with caps and veils and scarfs and the omnipresent hood, so that we really have little notion of their mode of hair-dressing.

Were you to judge, however, from the sermons of the Puritan preachers, you would fancy that the heads of New England women were dressed like the heads at the court of Marie Antoinette. Even the Massachusetts court complained of the "cutting and curling and laying out of the hair especially among the younger sort." One parson said severely, "The special sin of women is pride and haughtiness, and that because they are generally ignorant and worthless." I wish I knew what Madam, the parson's wife, said to him about that last clause, after the service was ended. A comet was seen in the sky in 1683,

and our Puritan forbears were fearsome indeed of the wonder. Increase Mather, of course, hinted that the vanity and extravagance of his sober Boston neighbors were attracting the tail of the comet; and he called out: "Will not the haughty daughters of Zion refrain their pride in apparell? Will they lay out their hair, and wear their false locks, their borders, and towers like comets about their heads?" You would fancy the women wore court head-dresses, commodes, from what he said; but I presume they were all sitting there in a row with their demure black hoods over their little coifs, and not one curly hair showing.

Madame de Sévigné.

The curling and laying out of the hair objected to so bitterly by the Puritan magistrates was, I believe, a French fashion which had been quickly adopted in England. A parting was made horizontally across the forehead and this front hair cut short and curled loosely, "as our English women wear their hair." The hair was knotted at the back and a brush of curls or a great roll with a few dangling ringlets spread out at the sides. You may see this in scores of English and French portraits. These knots of curls were generally artificial and were often

called "a pair of perukes." In a letter written by Knollys, in Chalmers's *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, we read that Queen Mary wore them at one time.

"Mary Seaton, who is praised to be the finest busker, the finest dresser of a woman's head of hair whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither, among other pretty devices yesterday, she did set such a curled hair upon the Queen that was said to be a Peruke that showed very delicately; and every other day she hath a new device of head-dressing without any cost, and yet setteth forth woman gaylie well."

Poor Mary! "pleased with a rattle—tickled with a straw;" having her fast-whitening locks dressed diversely to help to pass her dragging days.

The "cutting of the hair of the younger sort" was, I think, a cutting of the hair across the forehead in a fashion known to us ten years ago by the word "bang." Many Puritan men and women wore their hair thus cut. Higginson, in writing of the Indians in 1692, said, "Their hair is generally black, and cut before like our gentlewomen's." The false hair (if any really was worn) must have been these same bunches of curls called also "heart-breakers." Mr. Felt gives an account of one bill in Salem in 1679 for wire, catgut, and hair for a woman's head-gear.

These heart-breakers are familiarized to us by many portraits, among them those of Madame de Sévigné, who seems to have worn them for many years. An old copperplate print of Madame de Sévigné, given many years ago to a systematically idle little girl, as "a reward for proficiency in her

French exercises," has always been carefully preserved as the sole prize she ever received for scholarship or anything; and it is reproduced in these pages.

Madame de Sévigné thus wrote to her daughter of this mode: —

"Knot the hair low at the back of the head so as not to conceal either its purity of outline or its harmonious proportions. The short 'undergrowth' of hair in light curls on the forehead gives piquancy to the physiognomy, while bunches of light ringlets at the temples add softness to the expression."

It is difficult to think of Madame de Sévigné as a contemporary of the first generation born to the American colonist. She was born in 1626, died in 1696. She seems so modern, so fully in the spirit of our own time when compared with our Yankee forefathers. These ringlets at the side were sometimes called in France mustaches. After a time they were not cut in short bunches, but hung in long ringlets over the bosom.

It would seem strange and doubtful to draw the early residents of Boston and New York with these bunches of curls, but we should certainly err if we did not do so. These heart-breakers were sometimes wired that they might flutter alluringly, and stand out at a distance from the head, like butterfly wings. The stern old Puritan Stubbes writes of them: —

"Then followeth the trimming and tricking of their heades, in laying out their haire to the shewe, whiche of force must be curled, fristed, and crisped, laid out (a world to see) on wreathes and borders, from one eare to another. And least it should fall down, it is vnder propped with

forks, wiers, and I cannot tell what, like grim sterne monsters, rather than chaste Christian matrones."

An old Puritan preacher named Perkins, denouncing "curled and embroidered hair," called those knots of curls "winkles," and another called them "wink-a-peeps." The word winkle is a good one to choose for etymological research. It is allied to winkers, blinkers, or blinders, part of the harness of a horse's head, worn relatively as were these winkles on a woman's head. As for wink-a-peep, under the spelling win-co-pipe, we find that this is a folk-name for the scarlet pimpernel. I have noted that the history of dress is allied to the fine arts; it is also in close connection with the sciences, especially botany.

Another reference to perukes, this time by Pepys, on March 24, 1662, runs thus: —

"Comes La Bell Pierce to see my wife; and to bring her a pair of peruques of hair, as the fashion now is for ladies to wear; which are pretty and of my wife's own hair; or else I should not endure them."

Three years later he notes her beginning to wear "light locks, white almost," which made her look very pretty.

At this time women wore periwigs under their riding hats, and brought down the indignant verse of the Quaker Ellwood: —

> "Some women (Oh the Shame,) like ramping Rigs
> Ride flaunting in their powder'd Perriwigs."

"Female wigs," as they were advertised in the *News Letter*, had their times and seasons, but these

said times and seasons were short. Pepys tells with repulsion that on a June day in 1666 he saw the maids of honor walking on the galleries at White Hall dressed in riding garb, "with coats and doublets with deep skirts just for all the world like mine, and with periwigs and hats." He adds, "It was a sight that did not please me." *The Spectator*, No. 435, speaks of ladies in riding dress and periwigs. A hundred years after Pepys, in *Nugent's Travels*, 1766, some fair dames are described as wearing bagwigs. I cannot think that wigs were common wear; certainly not within doors.

"Peggy" Champlin.

The style of wearing the hair for a time became somewhat mean in appearance. It is a safe rule for all times and all faces that a woman's countenance should have a certain framing of hair. It is better, even, to have it brought down smoothly in front of and over the ears, or to let it hang in shiny ringlets, or to have it in a frowzle, than to have it drawn back

tightly from the face, strained back, so that it scarcely shows. I would rather see a creation like Marie Antoinette's (see it, not wear it) than to see the face bare, with no hair in view.

Head from *Plocacosmos*.

The portrait of Martha Washington when she was the Widow Custis is a good example of the period when women's hair was very little in evidence. This portrait was painted by John Woolaston, an artist who was painting in Philadelphia as early as 1758. He too, was influenced by Kneller; and his work is cold and meagre, though we are led to think otherwise from the enthusiastic tribute of that clever, gifted man of many enthusiasms, Francis Hopkinson, "the Signer."

As soon as the roll known to us as the pompadour came into vogue, hair-dressing was much more elegant. It varied little for fifty years save in the size of the roll.

We see the various heights and forms of this roll in the portraits by Lely, such as that of fair Evelyn Byrd, and likenesses of other pretty Vir-

ginians; we see it in the Feke and Smybert and Blackburn portraits reproduced in this book. The date, in general, is given of each, and the slight changes can be watched.

When we read in the *Boston News Letter* of 1768 that "Black and White and Yellow Pomatum is from Six Coppers to two Shillings a Roll," and in New York newspapers that "Orange Butter for Ladies' Rolls" is for sale, we know a change has come in the wearing of the hair. Soon powdering-puffs, and powdering-bags, and powdering-machines are advertised; and "Hair powder plain and scented," blue, brown, maréchal, and white. Great hair-rolls, and puffs and cushions appear likewise. A tower was rising, — a *talematongue*, which was soon to assume vast heights. Like everything else worn by pretty women, these high constructions were admired by fond lovers. One of the latter wrote of his Hartford sweetheart, "Her hair covered her cushion as a plate of most beautiful enamel frosted with silver."

The history of the use of hair-powder is somewhat obscure. We can gather it from scattered references, such as this in an account-book of the year 1634, noted in Whitaker's *History of Craven*. "Paid for a Quayle pipe for poudring hair." A quail pipe was a call for alluring quail; it was a simple tube, and apparently the hair-powder was blown through it.

A very striking picture exists by Vernet called *The Toilette*. The hair-dresser stands with powder-bag in one hand and broom-whisk in the other, his comb thrust in his own hair, his head thrown back, while

he shakes powder over the head of his customer. The latter covers his face with a paper cornucopia or cone, in order not to inhale the powder. Powdering was certainly French in origin; various manuals and encyclopædias state that "Hair powder was introduced by Marie de Medicis." She was born in 1573, and married the French king in 1600. In 1593, long before her days of influence, L'Etoile writes that the nuns in Paris were powdered and curled. Rowlands, in his book, *The Human Hair*, says that in 1614 certain ballad singers at St. Germain covered their heads with flour, in order to appear ridiculous; just as the clown in the circus now paints his face.

Le Bandeau d'Amour.

In the year 1770, that delightful little child, Anna Green Winslow, wrote in her diary a frank description of the manufacture and assumption of fashionable head-gear. This description is most vivacious and witty; in fact, it is far more clever than any similar account that I have read by any other writer: —

"I had my HEDDUS roll on; Aunt Storer said it ought to be made less, Aunt Deming said it ought not to

be made at all. It makes my head itch and ach and burn like anything, Mama. *This* famous roll is not made *wholly* of a red *Cow Tail*, but is a mixture of that & horsehair (very coarse) & a little human hair of a yellow hue that I suppose was taken out of the back part of an old wig. But D. (the barber) made it (our head) all carded together and twisted up. When it first came home, aunt put it on & my new cap upon it, she took up her apron & measur'd me & from the roots of my hair on my forehead to the top of my notions I measur'd above an inch longer than I did downward from the roots of my hair to the end of my chin. Nothing renders a young person more amiable than virtue & *modesty* without the help of fals hair, red Cow Tail, or D."

Anna had ere that seen D., a fashionable hair-dresser, at work upon a lady's head, and the observing little creature wrote: —

"How long she was under his opperations I know not. I saw him twist & tug & pick & cut off whole locks of grey hair at a slice, (the lady telling him he would have no hair to dress next time,) for the space of an hour & a half, when I left them, he seeming not to be near done."

An entertaining and very popular book was published in 1782 entitled *Plocacosmos, or the Whole Art of Hair Dressing*. I have seen several old copies of it in America, and feel sure it was widely read. It contained ample rules for "the young artizan" (the word "artizan" throughout the book being used in our sense of artist), and for "ladieswomen," and valets; and even directions for unfortunate persons who had to dress their own hair. There were rules for cosmetics, care of the hair, history of hair-dressing,

"interspersed with Moral Thoughts, necessary for all Families." The dedication is to the Prince of Wales, "All that is Graceful, All that is Amiable, Where the Graces all concentre, the Idol of every Heart, the pattern for All inborn and Outward Accomplishments, in whom blend the immortal heroism of the third Edward and the valour of his darling son, with the glorious ambition of the fifth Henry, and the caution of the wise and economical seventh Henry, and the endearing domestic virtues of the pious martyr Charles." Think of it! wise, economical, domestic, virtuous — oh, what a Prince of Princes was George IV!

Mrs. Alexander McComb. 1789.

The rules for hair-dressing, in this book, are couched in words worthy the highest intellectual performance, or deeds of great heroism; they are classic. High resolves, pious fervor, patriotic ambition, noble art, virtuous kindness, generous courtesy, all (as the author says in an ill-chosen phrase) "animate his dressing comb." His abhorrence of hair "in a state of nature" is deep even to pathos; it would move the most hardened heart. Every detail is made of fearful importance, even the quality

of the curl-papers, their exact size and shape. The comb must be a "well-turned tortoise-shell tail-comb," smooth, slanting regularly to the point tha the hair may readily slip off. Rules are given for the use of every finger in turn, and injunctions never to vary the sequence. Page after page is devoted to the placing of the hair in papers, so that —

"When all is done they look like regular rows of trees truly set with their heads bending to the crown as if blown thence by a gust of wind from the face, that in idea you could walk a file of men three deep not only from the front to the crown through one of these rows without meeting the least obstruction, but traverse from one ear to the other in the same regular line when properly done, they have in paper a very pretty effect besides the utility. Unless they are done so, they will not have the proper curl nor sit as they ough when dressed."

Mrs. Duthill.

The rules for pinching these papers with hot irons are elaborate to a degree. The actual dressing-rules fill a hundred pages, and equally careful instructions are given to the lady's maid for the care of her mistress's head when sleeping. The frizzing

or craping of the front and top hair is his delight — and could be made an exquisite bit of workmanship, as may be seen on the head of Miss Champlin and Mrs. McComb. A lady's hair frizzed by an "artizan" should "carry with it the idea of your standing on the beach and viewing the sea as far as your eye will carry you, till by a gentle swell it falls from your sight."

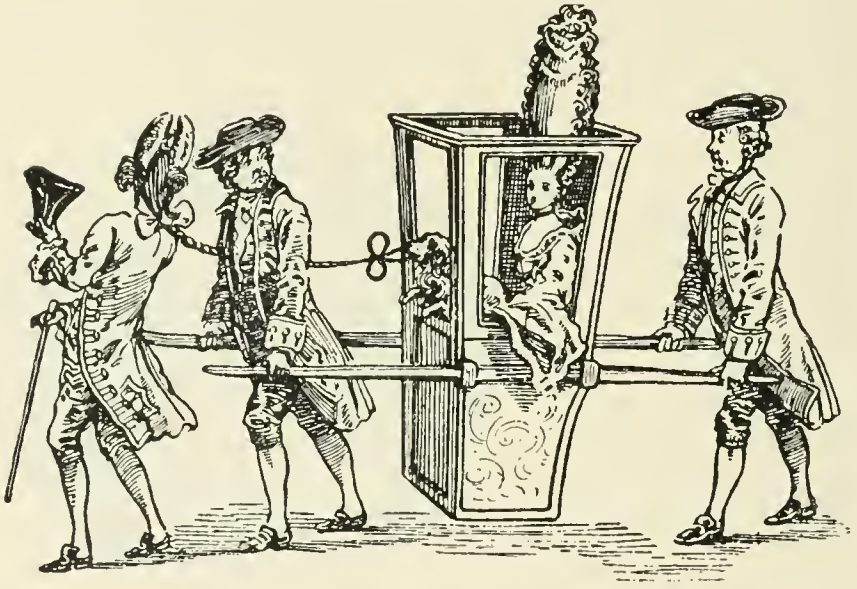
Many startling inventions were announced for fixing the hair in immovable position. Among other advertisements, I find this in 1782: —

"A new method of stuccowing the hair in the most fashionable taste, to last with very little repair during the whole session of Parliament. Price only five guineas. N.B. He takes but one hour to build the head, and two for baking it."

The high heads of the ladies brought forth much public abuse in print and even to the wearers. During the famous "Dark Day," May 19, 1780, when candles were burnt at mid-day, and the cocks roosted as at the coming of night, fear seized on all except the sailors in port, who drank deeply and frolicked through the streets, calling into houses as they passed and to timid ladies on their hurried and terrified way to the religious services, "Now you may take off your rolls and high caps and be damned."

Little thought of what we now deem cleanliness, or even decency, was present in the hair-dressing of that day. Not only was the hair left untouched for a most revoltingly long time, but materials were used in the dressing of the hair and making up the

rolls (as Anna Green Winslow related), and other adjuncts were used, which are most incredible. The *Boston Gazette* of May, 1771, tells of a young woman driving in Boston streets who was thrown from a carriage, and her high tower partly torn off. It proved to be stuffed with yarn, tow, wool, curled hair, and even hay; and the detached mass was kicked about



Macaroni Head.

the streets like a foot-ball. A shrewd woman impostor, named Jemima Wilkinson, had a wonderful career of successful fraud at about this time. She gathered followers, land, and wealth, and *kept them*. In reading of her career, I am impressed with a belief that her dress had much influence in her success. While women were all wearing much-betrimmed garments and those monstrous, untidy head-towers, she ap-

peared in garments of richest material, but exceedingly plain. Her complexion was extraordinarily fine, while her splendid hair was always kept in exquisite order and dressed very simply, part of it in long curls; and hair and dress were ever noticeably and radiantly clean, and were so noted by all chroniclers. I believe a large part of her influence was *personal;* the power, though unconsciously to the subject, of absolute cleanliness.

Lady Kennedy.

A New England clergyman, Manasseh Cutler, wrote thus of the head-dress of Mrs. General Knox in 1787:—

"Her hair in front is craped at least a foot high, much in the form of a churn bottom upward and topped off with a wire skeleton in the same form, covered with black gauze which hangs in streamers down her back. Her hair behind is in a large braid turned up and confined with a monstrous large crooked comb. She reminded me of the monstrous cap worn by the Marquis of La Fayettes valet, commonly called on this account the Marquises devil."

This head-dress must have been like that worn by Mrs. Robert Morris.

The Abbé Robin wrote of New England women in 1781:—

"The hair of the head is raised and supported upon cushions to an extravagant height somewhat resembling the manner in which the French ladies wore their hair some years ago. Instead of powdering they often wash the head, which answers the purpose well enough as their own hair is commonly of an agreeable light color, but the more fashionable among them begin to adopt the European fashion of setting off the head to the best advantage."

The fashion of the roll was of much importance, and various shaped rolls were advertised; we find one of "a modish new roll weighing but 8 ounces when others weigh fourteen ounces." We can well believe that such a heavy roll made poor Anna Winslow's head "ach and itch like anything." A Salem hair-dresser, who employed twelve barbers, advertised thus in 1773: "Ladies shall be attended to in the polite constructions of rolls such as may tend to raise their heads to any pitch they desire."

In 1781 the towering heads were lowered. Lady Cathcart, keeping her American friends thoroughly posted as to all the modes, writes in June of women's head-gear: —

"They wear their Heads about 2 inches high and not very broad with two small Curles of a side. Their necks are a good deal covered."

In 1783 General Huntington wrote to his wife of Philadelphia fashions in hair-dressing: "The Roll is much less than formerly, and is Raised to a Peak above the Forehead; Frowzled (or frizzed) and Powdered." This form of frizzed and pointed roll was known as the macaroni roll.

Frances Cadwalader (Lady Erskine).

It was similar to the head-gear of men at that date, whether the man's hair was a wig or his own frizzed locks. It was a French macaroni fashion, which I have noted in French pictures as early as 1772. It is very probable that it was communicated as the height of fashion by the many French officers who took part in the war of the Revolution and took an equally lively interest in American women.

Mrs. Clinton.

It seems superfluous to call attention to any of the illustrations in this book as of special use in this chapter; for all the illustrations which show women's hair illustrate the subject. Two of the cuts from the book *Plocacosmos* are given in much-reduced sizes in this chapter; and the copies of the old copperplates of Mrs. Rudd show distinctly the most fashionable hair-dressing of the year 1775. Her portraits and others in these pages give the stiffly "buckled" or rolled curls which demanded so much time and attention of hair-dressers. One mode which was in high favor in America, and in France as well, had thirteen of these rolls; and was termed *à l'Indépendance* — a tribute of fashion, and a proof of American popularity in thus commemorating our thirteen brand-new states.

Even demure Quaker dames had barbers Fay and Duchateau to dress ladies in fifty different manners with their natural hair, while ladies with scant hair could be "dressed satisfactorily with False Curls not to be distinguished from Natural ones"; they also set on the heads false flowers and brilliants, "to the greatest advantage."

In 1797 there came into fashion a long, straight or waved lock of hair, looped low in the back of the neck, brought up to the crown of the head, and there fastened, with the end left in another loop or a free curl. The picture of Mrs. De Witt Clinton (1797), on the previous page, displays well this loop; also of Lady Kennedy and Lady Johnson. Men's hair followed the same fashion; and often combs were worn by both men and women to keep this looped lock of hair in place. The Saint Memin portrait of Landon Carter, 1808, shows such a comb; and others by that artist. I remember well an ancient gentleman in New England who wore as late as 1870 a loop of hair caught up with a comb. He was then over eighty, and his hair was still thick. He boldly attributed baldness to the constant cutting of men's hair.

In the opening year of the nineteenth century a French fashion of hair-dressing for both men and women was invented and called the Titus. La Mésangère, the fashion-purveying priest, wrote that the Titus mode consisted in having the hair cut close to the roots, so as to restore the natural stiffness to the tube and make it grow in a perpendicular direction. It was cut closely at the back, while

a few untidy, unattractive, two-inch-long curls hung into the eyes.

Frenchwomen who adopted the cut *à la Titus* felt compelled to wear a scarlet shawl and a red necklace to complete the harmony (?) of the costume. *À la victime* was another and most unpleasant name. I cannot comprehend how any grown woman of any dignity ever tolerated this fashion, but the ugly shock heads were everywhere. By 1804 the Titus style of hair-cutting had become provincial in Paris; and we were not one whit behind in America. Of course there was no recourse, after such shearing, save to wigs; and for several years wigs had full sway.

Lady Johnson.

The reign of wigs for women's wear must have come as a great relief. The years of twisting, frizzing, burning, had effectually worn out and worn off the hair from the heads of women of fashion; and to clip the hair closely and wear a wig must have been a great rest to the tortured scalp. During this period of capillary rest and recreation, wigs seem to have been universal, save where elderly caps served as a cover. From the sprightly pages

of Eliza Southgate in the year 1800, we will let her introduce to us, as she did to her parents, the subject of wig-wearing. She writes thus: —

"Now Mamma, what do you think I am going to ask for? — a wig. Eleanor has got a new one just like my hair and only 5 dollars, Mrs. Mayo one just like it. I must either cut my hair or have one, I cannot dress it at all *stylish*. Mrs. Coffin bought Eleanor's and says that she will write to Mrs. Sumner to get me one just like it; how much time it will save — in one year we could save it in pins and paper, besides the *trouble*. At the assembly I was quite ashamed of my head, for nobody has long hair. If you will consent to my having one do send me over a 5 dollar bill by the post immediately after you receive this, for I am in hopes to have it for the next Assembly — do send me word immediately if you can let me have one."

Mrs. Cox in Curled Wig.

Her miniature, reproduced in this book, shows, doubtless, this wig.

The snowy hair of Mrs. Oliver Ormsby is obviously a wig; as is that of her husband. The twain were married in Pittsburgh when eighteen and twenty years old.

Children of Colonel Moultrie. 1805.

They rode on a wedding journey to Philadelphia across the mountains on horseback. There they both had their thick handsome hair cut close and bought powdered wigs. Finding Saint Memin's portraits and engravings the height of the mode, both had their profiles taken proudly in their new "bandoes."

Mrs. Oliver Ormsby.
By Saint Memin.

Mrs. Erskine, of Philadelphia, writing at this date, says she paid six guineas for a wig, which is so costly that she intends it shall last the rest of her life. I presume it lasted till out of fashion.

Another young woman, the wife of the first Secretary of the Navy, wrote very explicitly at the same time from Philadelphia about ladies' wigs: —

"Instead of a wig I have a bando which suits me much better. I had it in contemplation to get a wig, but I have got what I will like much better for myself. It is called a Bando. I think the former best for those who dress in a different style from myself, but the latter suits me best. I heard the ladies with whom I was in company last night say that the fashionable manner of dressing the hair was more like the Indians — the hair without powder — and looked sleek and hung down the forehead in strings. Mine will do that to a nicety. I observe powder is scarcely worn, only, I believe, by those who are gray, too much so to go without powder I mean. How these ladies in the Indian fashion dress their hair behind I cannot say; but those out of that fashion that I have seen, and who do not wear wigs, have

six or eight curls in their neck and turn up the rest and curl the ends, which, I think, look very pretty when well done."

And as closing proof of the universal wearing of wigs by women of social standing and fashion, we

Mrs. Susannah Rawson.

find Mrs. Randolph and Mrs. Eppes, daughters of Thomas Jefferson, preparing for their assumption of duties at the White House, when their father became President, by writing to Mrs. Madison, ordering wigs of the most fashionable shape, to be ready for their wear upon their arrival. "They are

universally worn," wrote Mrs. Randolph, "and will relieve us of the necessity of dressing our own hair, a business in which we are not adepts." Mrs. Eppes had a glorious crown of auburn hair, but her father made no remonstrance against the wigs, though he was duly informed of them in advance.

The curiously dishevelled mode which succeeded the very ornate wigs and the close-cropped Titus style had as its most prominent feature long locks brought down untidily over the forehead and cheeks. This was a mode adopted by both men and women. It was deemed elegantly negligent, and, with beautiful hair and eyes and complexion, may have been tolerable — as every mode is with such accompaniments. But in many cases it is certainly ugly, giving to every dark-eyed and dark-haired woman a bewhiskered look, which is most unalluring. It seems to have been adopted by old and young, however, at the time the empire fashions were in vogue. Sometimes the back hair was tied in a tight knot; sometimes it was braided; and sometimes it vanished — disappeared so completely, save at the very roots to cover the scalp, that I know not what became of it. Every one, men, women, and even little children, to judge from portraits, suddenly seemed to have scant hair; if

Mary Abby Willing Coale, born 1789.

the hair were heavy and long, it was certainly ruthlessly cut; for the locks always seem meagre and straggling. It was a trying fashion; and for many years women went from one ugly mode to another; some of these were very mean, and others grotesque, and all were unbecoming.

A high coiffure of loops of hair standing out stiffly and surmounted with a comb was known everywhere as *à la girafe*. This has been attributed in a recent book on modes to the year 1810. Now, these giraffe fashions were named (hair, caps, kerchief, and hat) in honor of the arrival of the first giraffe at the *Jardin des Plantes;* this was in the year 1827. I have a portrait of a kinswoman painted by her brother at the time of her wedding, in December, 1830, in which her hair is dressed *à la girafe*. The splendid, great tortoise-shell combs which are found in many country houses are seldom a hundred years old, — though I have half a dozen such, of beautiful carving, which I bought in a New England village, with a solemn assurance that they were two hundred years old, — and one, prettily inlaid with silver in workmanship of about the year 1850, was proudly labelled, "Brought over in the *Mayflower* as a gift for Priscilla Alden."

The precise date of the first wearing of these high combs seems in some doubt. In 1773 came "Tortoise Shell Poll Combs, Ivory Tupee & Tail Combs," and then "Bent combs"; proving that they had — as I saw advertised in the *Connecticut Courant* — "combs of every denomination." The Saint Memin pictures of the year 1808 many of them display

combs. All are straight, plain combs, such as this on Miss Wilson.

There was in 1805–1807, and perhaps later, a decidedly one-sided effect to ladies' dress. Let me quote a few sentences to illustrate this effect on the modes of hair-dressing.

"The hair is worn on the left side of the forehead in a cluster of small plaits; large flat curls on the other side. Hair in plain band in left with loose waves on the right, two large cork-screw curls on the right.

"Double diamond straw Jockey bonnet has a full quilling of lace over right eye. Lilack silk handkerchief tied on left side. Hair must be irregular in form; combed flat on left side with one ringlet far behind the ear. On left a long ringlet hangs in front of left eye.

Miss Wilson. 1808.

"Drapery of pale blue and purple shot gauze with wreath of silver grapes and vine leaves. Drapery is suspended at right side of head and reaches to the ground with tassel of blue and silver at foot. Combs are worn capriciously.

"Capote sky blue velvet trimmed with squirrel fur of Tyger skin worn to expose right ear. Under the right side of brim white fur is intermixed. A curl hangs at one side."

We are apt to idealize those we love. It is one of the tender and beautiful tributes paid to the dead,

that they are to us ever beautiful. The story of Washington Irving's despairing young love for Matilda Hoffman, and his life-long mourning, have been a romantic delight to young girls of many decades. "Beautiful and more beautiful" did Irving

Matilda Hoffman.

call her till the day of his death, and I have never doubted her beauty, which has been told by all who knew her. But I have always regretted that I ever saw her miniature. The eyes are fine, but the triangular contour of the face, the shape of the head, even the placing of the ear, are all trying to a degree, as may be seen on this page, where the en-

graver has much modified the ugly lines of the miniature. An angular aspect is given largely by the one-sided hair-dressing. The dark hair is parted on the right side, varnished down tight across the forehead over the left temple to the ear, where a conspicuous curl is laid out on the cheek. This is much lessened in the print I give. The hair is knotted askew at what seems a wrong spot on the back of the head. The left side of the hair is cut short and frizzed out in forced contrast to the smooth expanse on the other temple. This is called "a most lovely miniature" by Charles Dudley Warner and by many others; indeed, it seems universally admired.

Her friend, Rebecca Gratz, is also heralded to us as a wonderful beauty by Irving in his conversations with Sir Walter Scott. Her disappointing miniature displays heavy features, a protuberant ear, and her dark hair is drawn over her cheek in straggling locks which in front of the ear bear an ugly suggestion of a side whisker; this, with the masculine heaviness of feature, renders it far from a joy forever. There are two companion miniatures in the group of four young girls who were intimate friends. These are of Rachel Gratz and of Eliza Fenno, who became Mrs. Gulian C. Verplanck. These two are truly exquisite in expression and beautiful in feature, and the hair is not disagreeable, though it has the same careful carelessness.

# CHAPTER XX

## COMMODES, MOBS, AND PINNERS

"*There is not so variable a thing in nature as a Lady's head-dress; within my memory I have known it rise and fall above thirty degrees.*"

— "The Spectator," Addison, 1718.

"*Give Chloe a bushel of horse-hair and wool,*
*Of paste and pomatum a pound,*
*Ten yards of gay ribbon to deck her sweet skull,*
*And gauze to encompass it round.*

"*Of all the bright colours the rainbow displays*
*Be those ribbons which hang on her head,*
*Be her flounces adapted to make the folks gaze,*
*And about the whole work be they spread.*

"*Let her flaps fly behind, for a yard at the least;*
*Let her curls meet just under her chin;*
*Let these curls be supported, to keep up the jest,*
*With an hundred, instead of one pin.*

"*Thus finish'd in taste, while on Chloe you gaze,*
*You may take the dear charmer for life;*
*But never undress her — for, out of her stays*
*You'll find you have lost half your wife.*"

"The Ladies' Head-dress," 1777.

# CHAPTER XX

## COMMODES, MOBS, AND PINNERS

WE have seen that all Puritan women, and indeed all Englishwomen in 1620, closely covered the head in public. Some head-tire was universal, and it appeared worn under many names and shapes — the earliest being a head-rail.

It is difficult to draw exact lines between hoods and caps, between bonnets and head-dresses — and some head-tire may be included in this chapter which might by other rules of classification be deemed a bonnet. It would be easier, perhaps, to group all "head-clothes" together, but I prefer to separate that worn to dress the head within-doors from that worn as an outdoor covering.

The head-rail of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman women was very simple, scarce more than a veil folded into a few set shapes. Then came the astonishing "horn," the "crescent," the "steeple," the "chimney," the "bossed" head-dress, each exceeding the other in size and grotesque shape. Soon was seen the curious diamond-shaped head-dress, as in the portraits of several English queens; this took numerous allied forms.

The caps of married and unmarried women differed by law under Henry VIII; no unmarried

woman could wear "white or any other coloured caps." Girls must wear a kerchief or a caul or network which was not a cap.

A manuscript of about the year 1460 says distinctly: —

> "Maidens wear callis of silk and of thred
> And damsels kerchiefs pynned on their head."

In the inventory of Richard Lasthead of Virginia, in 1642, I find a special entry of a caul for women's wear. The word had been applied to a net and to a flat-netted head-dress; but the head-dress and word thus used were out of date by 1642. It referred, doubtless, to a certain shaped cap, for the name remained in use for the back portion of a woman's cap until the nineteenth century. Possibly some elderly person made out the inventory, and used a word commonly employed in his youth.

A certain "lattice-cap" worn by English women

in the sixteenth century was allied to the caul. Both were made of metal threads or cords or of beads. These lattice-caps also are named in Virginia inventories. English maidens were married with their hair flowing free. Anne Boleyn wore her hair thus as she rode through London streets to meet her royal bridegroom. White knit caps were enjoined by law during several reigns as the wear of all English folk of low degree.

I find the words "coif," "quoife," "quoyf," "quoiff," "ciffer," "coifer," "quiffer," and "quiff," all used in New England, New York, and Virginia, to refer to a close-fitting head-dress or cap.

The first women settlers wore coifs of varied forms and materials. The excessive use of cut-work embroidery was forbidden to the Puritans, yet cut-work coifs were seen in the new land. Christopher Youngs, of Wenham, Massachusetts, owned them in 1647; and one writer complained of the vanity of the Pilgrims in sending to England for cut-work.

References are made in early letters to a head-tire which is simply termed a "dressing" and another called "cross-clothes." A sentence from a letter written by Mary Downing, a niece of Governor Winthrop's, in the year 1632, will show the use of the words; and also the keen supervision of the Puritan fathers over fanciful dress: —

"I writt to my mother for lace, not out of any prodigall or proud mind, but only for some crosse cloathes, which is the most allowable and commendable dressinge here. Shee would have mee weare dressings, wch I did soe as longe as

they woulde suffer mee; whilest the elders with others intreated mee to leave them off because they gave great offence; and seeinge it hath pleased God to bringe mee hither amongst His people I woulde not willingly doe anything amongst them that shoulde be displeasinge vnto them."

Taylor's *Prayse of the Needle*, 1640, names cross-cloths and chin-clouts together; both seem to have been bands to hold the coif in place. "Coyfes and cross-cloths" are constantly classed together in lists. A line describing prizes at a lottery ran, "This coife and cross-cloth will become you best." A dressing is hopelessly vague. Elizabeth Cook of Plymouth had, as late as 1687, six dressings worth two shillings each; squares and head-bands worth a shilling each; also silk hoods, hair-laces, a hat, and a hat-lace — ample head-covering. The executors of the estate of her neighbor, Desire Gorham, called all her head-covering caps. All these varied caps and coifs were worn under the black French hood or the beaver hat when the wearer "walked abroad."

Very rarely in the earliest inventories appears the word "bongrace." It was the frontlet of a coif or hood; and its first function was plainly to preserve the complexion, the "bon-grace." In Beaumont and Fletcher this line proves its duty, "My face was all spoiled for want of a bongrace when I was young." A second quotation shows that the word was applied to the frontlet which was so much worn with the French hood. "Her bongrace which she ware with her French hood." I have been told that the curious frontlet shown under the French

Children of James II of England.

hood on the Puritan wife, Mrs. Clark, pictured in the second chapter of this book, is a bongrace.

The frontlet still was worn in 1630 by sober, middle-aged or elderly women. It sometimes was made by turning the back fold of the head-dress to the front, then sharply folding it back again. It thus made a stiff projecting roof-eave. These frontlets could be of rich stuffs; but plainly dressed women had simple frontlets of some substantial stuff, apparently plain silk. The frontlet was often made separately and fastened to the coif.

Mary Marshall, Mother of Chief Justice Marshall.

In the reign of Charles II came the sole period of our two centuries when women were capless and without head-dress. It must have been a great shock to the sensibilities of these English women, habituated for centuries to the thought of absolute impropriety in the sight of an uncovered head in public. The sense of bareness was broken at first by the fashion of "a pair of perukes," which I have described in the chapter upon Women's Hair; these perukes or heart-breakers were so openly artificial that they might just as well be classed as a head-dress. We have a fashion to-day of tying the side curls or side locks of little girls in little bunches with knots of ribbons back of either temple or just above the ear. This is precisely the way in which these seventeenth-century perukes or the knots of

natural curls were tied on women's heads. Sometimes the ribbon was interwoven and knotted in a more elaborate fashion. Sometimes the false knots were held in place by a frontlet or top-piece. This may be seen on Madame de Sévigné.

The head-covering was of much importance in New Netherland, as it has ever been in Holland. We find that Dutch headdresses were costly. In 1665 Mistress Piertje Jans of New Amsterdam sold a "fine little ornamental headdress" for fifty-five guilders to the young daughter of Evert Duyckinck, a sturdy schepen of the little town. It seems that Missy bought this "genteel head-clothes" without the knowledge or permission of her parents; and on its arrival at the Duyckinck homestead Vrouw Duyckinck promptly sent back to the milliner the emblem of extravagance and disobedience. Summoned to court by the incensed milliner, who wished no rejected, second-hand headdresses on her hands, and who claimed that the transaction was from the beginning with full cognizance of the parents, Father Duyckinck took refuge in pronouncing the milliner's bill extortionate; and

Mary Philipse.

furthermore he said gloomily, with a familiar phraseology of New York fathers, that "this was no time to be buying and wearing costly head-dresses." The court sympathized, but decided in the milliner's favor.

I have described in my third chapter the cornet-cap which was worn by Dutchwomen. Some coif or close cap always covered their heads. They wore netted cauls, like English women.

Priscilla Webb Ropes. 1761.

About the year 1680 a favorite of King Louis XIV of France — the Duchesse de Fontanges — had the misfortune — or good fortune — to have her hat blown off by the wind. To confine the curls thus disarranged she tied a ribbon around her head in such a way that the ribbon loops fell over the brow, and the hair stood up behind them. This accidental head-dress was a mode so becoming that it was universally adopted by the court, and was given the name "fontange." The ribbon was replaced by larger loops and bands of lace; and then formal plaitings of gauze and silk were added, still standing stiffly up from the bow, but the name became changed to the very unsuitable title "commode," and under that name grew in height till Saint Simon wrote in his *Memoirs:* —

"The fontange became a structure of brass-wire, ribbons, hair, and baubles of all kinds about two feet high which made a woman's face look as if it were in the middle of her body."

In its perfected state and in its highest altitude it was made of tubes or rolls of gummed linen which stood up from the head, leaning a bit forward, and to which all the rest of the "stuff" was attached. Under the openly expressed detestation of King Louis, commodes were expelled from the French court. French women in private life persisted in wearing them until a rollicking English woman, wife of the English ambassador to France, succeeded, where the king had failed, by ridiculing them until they were extinct.

Writing in 1719, Saint Simon tells of an amusing accident which took place over a lansquenet table. An old woman gambler, Madame de Charlus, was dressed in a commode, which, says the chronicler, "was not fastened in the hair, but was all put on or taken off like a wig or night-cap. It was worn very high." She would not leave the gambling-table to eat, but seized an egg and bent over for salt, setting her commode into a candle-flame. The Archbishop of Rheims, a fellow-gambler, snatched off the blazing head-dress, and threw it on the ground, revealing to all the hoary, bare head of the old woman, who, in her anger, not knowing why she had been thus uncovered, threw her egg in the archbishop's face. He, *en omelette*, tried to explain his act, but her anger prevented her listening with understanding

for a long time. Oh! what a picture of French life.

I have never seen a portrait in an American family where the subject wore a commode or a "fontange," nor have I ever found a reference to this head-dress in letters written to or by persons living in America at the time it was worn. This is not strange, perhaps, for I never saw an English family portrait in which the subject wore a commode, nor did John A. Repton, Esq., that acute observer and able limner and writer upon English costume (when writing in 1838), find a commode depicted in any family portrait, though he notes the prints of Queen Mary wearing this lofty head-dress.

Sarah, wife of Captain John Hampson, Virginia.

A reason for this is given by Horace Walpole, when writing of Sir Godfrey Kneller, the court painter, who painted in England from 1674 to 1723, during the reign of the commode. Walpole says: —

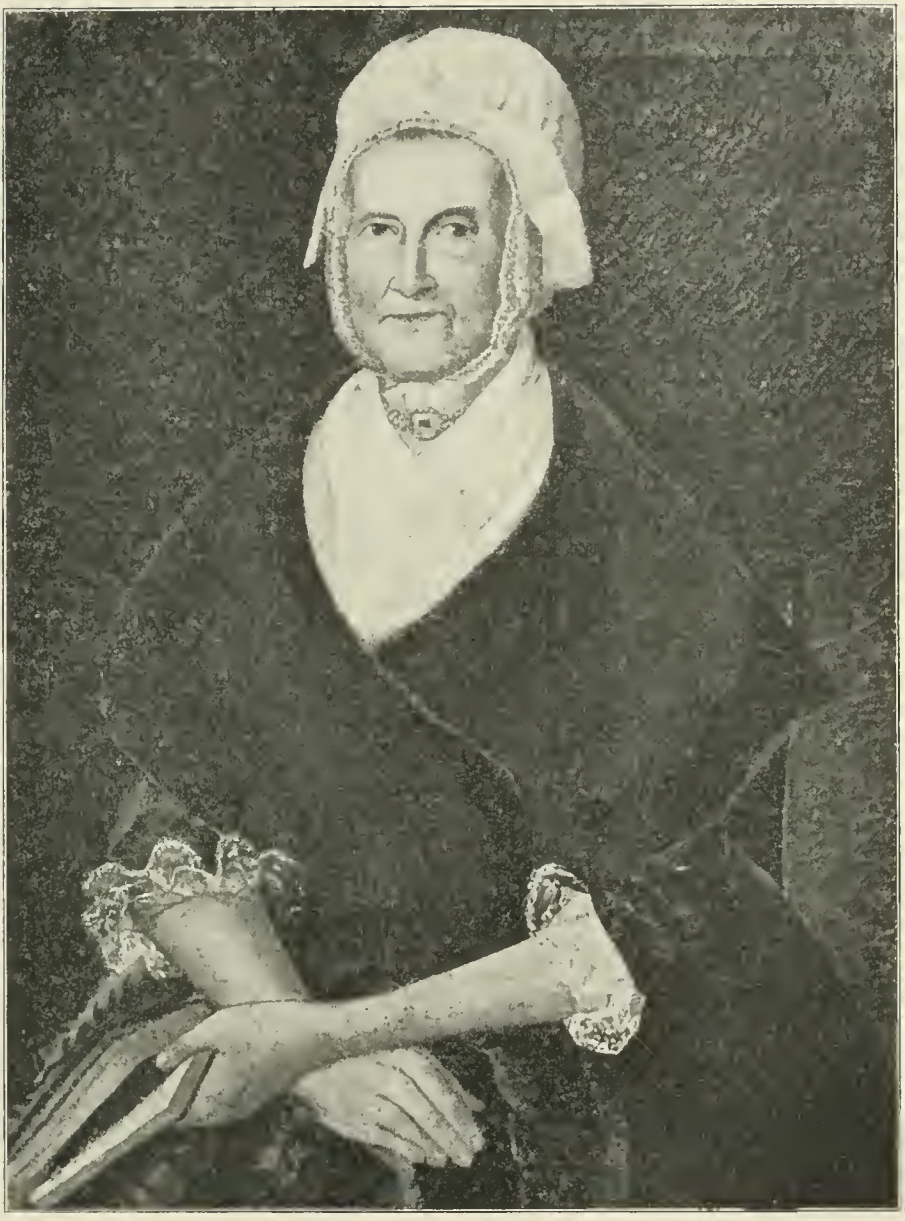
"His airs of heads have extreme grace; the hair admirably disposed, and if the locks seem unnaturally elevated, it must be considered an instance of the painter's art. For he painted in an age when women erected edifices of three stories on their heads. Had he represented such preposterous attire, in half a century his works would have been ridiculous. To lower their dress to a natural level when the eye was accustomed to pyramids would have shocked their prejudices and diminished the resemblance. He took

a middle way, and weighed out ornament to them of more natural materials. Still it must be owned there is a great sameness in his airs."

I cannot agree with Walpole that any painter's work becomes ridiculous if he paints the real thing. We have seen an equally preposterous head-dress in the day of Marie Antoinette, and the artists of her day perpetuated it without making their work absurd. The effect of Kneller's gratuitous hair-dressing is simply a "sameness in airs," and a knowledge that we have the Countess of Essex, of Dorset, the Duchess of Grafton and of St. Albans without the commodes they really wore.

I give in this chapter a commode of moderate size, worn by the little princess, the daughter of James II of England.

In the plates of the coronations of James II and of William and Mary, none of the ladies wear the fantastic commode. Nevertheless, commodes were earnestly preached against by the English clergy; and Addison (who died in 1749) refers to their wear, saying they rose an ell above the head, were like a steeple, and had long, loose pieces of fringed crape hanging down the back. The only tradition of a commode in America is curiously enough not ascribed to the wear of a woman. On a preceding page is a print from an old portrait of Lord Cornbury, who was governor of New York in the year 1708. He was a cousin of Queen Anne (whose mother was a Hyde), and is said to have resembled the queen. Vain of that resemblance, and through a



Mrs. Samuel Bishop.

half-crazy whim in his always foolish head that, as her representative in America, he must dress like her, he used to appear upon the ramparts of the fort dressed in hooped petticoats and rich gowns, wearing a commode and carrying a fan. The disgust of honest American citizens can well be imagined. Lewis Morris wrote to the Secretary of State that Cornbury had "a peculiar and detestable magot" in his head; namely, this absurd masquerading in women's attire. This portrait, to my disappointment, is not in a commode.

In the lists of wedding garments of wealthy brides the "linen" was a separate list. In one case it comprised these articles: —

"A Brussels laced head, ruffles, handkerchief, and tucker.
A Sute of Brussels drest night-cloaths and rufels.
A Macklin-face lase-drest night-cloaths, and hankerchief.
A Paris Cap, double hankerchief, and ruffles.
A Dormorzein mobb and tucker edged.
A pinner and quoiff of fine lace, Macklin double ruffles, handkerchieff and hood of muslin edged with lace.
A plain cambrick head, ruffles, tipett and tucker.
A laced cambrick apron, a spoted cambrick apron.
A plain cambrick apron, a lawn apron."

Lace "heads" were a costly item of dress. Heads of Brussels lace cost £30; a French point or Flanders head and ruffles could easily cost £80. They could, of course, be worn only by the wealthy. When Princess Mary, daughter of George II, was married, she had only four lace heads, two being of Brussels, two of point lace. She had also six French caps.

We find George Washington ordering for his wife a lace-head, ruffles, and lappets worth over $500.

A lappet was the lace pendant of a lady's cap or head-dress. Horace Walpole called them "unmeaning pendants." In 1758, Jane Eustis advertised

Mrs. Elias Boudinot.

"Blown Lace Lappet Heads." In 1772, came "Very Neat Flanders and Brussels Lappet Heads."

I have examined, with attention devoted to that special subject, the laces displayed in at least two hundred portraits of Americans, of dates previous to the Revolution. Where the lace is carefully and

distinctly delineated, they are nearly all Flemish, Brussels point, and Mechlin laces. A few look like Valenciennes. For many years all the laces of Flanders, except those of Brussels and the point double, were known under the general name of Mechlin lace. Ben Jonson tells us that ruffs and cuffs of Flanders lace were the fashion in England. Francis Bacon writes, "Our English dames are much given to the wearing of costly laces; if brought from Italy, France, or Flanders they are in much esteem."

The laces in these old American portraits seem often rich and costly. I sometimes look upon them with a troubled suspicion which was placed in my head by one of the English essayists. He says: —

"My friend was drawn in a full-bottomed periwig, a laced cravat, with the fringed ends appearing through the buttonhole Steinkirk fashion. Indeed, one would wonder how and where people managed to afford so rich a selection of lace in their days, did it not call to mind the demand of the Vicaress of Wakefield to 'have as many pearls and diamonds put into her picture as could be given for the money.'"

In one or two American portraits, a lace like heavy guipure is seen; in another, a lace precisely like our modern point appliqué laces. A few cap-ruffles and cap-lappets seem to be some of the old French point-laces, but Italian laces appear rarely.

On page 64 (Chapter II) is given a fine old piece of Venice point-lace, which has been in the De Peyster family for centuries. It is one of the simple monotonous designs found in the ancient pattern-books of Venice laces, some of which still exist.

"The Netherlanders," wrote Fynes Moryson, who visited Holland in 1589, "wear very little lace and no embroidery;" and the first Holland emigrants to America wore little lace. But the Edict of Nantes sent many lace-makers to Holland, and the far-famed Haarlem thread offered wonderful opportunities for lace-making; soon a strong point-lace was made, and in large amount. Travellers relate the curious custom of tying up Dutch door-knockers with this point-lace, to announce the birth of an infant within-doors.

Mrs. James Duane.

The "pillow-lace," constantly recommended for caps, is easily defined, for it has not varied for three centuries; nor has the lace pillow and method of making the lace. The pillow is a circular baseboard stuffed to form a cushion, round, ovoid, or cylindrical. When in use, it is held upon the knees. On this pillow a piece of parchment is fixed, and on this parchment a pattern is pricked in small holes. Through these holes pins are stuck into the cushion. Bobbins are pieces of wood or bone about as large round as a pencil and two to three inches long, having a deep groove around the upper end, which

forms a thin neck to the bobbin and leaves room for the thread to be tied round it. Sheep's trotters, called "bones," were used before bobbins. Each bobbin has but one thread. By the interlacing of these threads around the pins, the lace ground is made, while a thicker thread is used to form the more solid figure.

Let me define a few of the terms used by old lace-makers of cap laces.

Campane lace is a narrow, fine edging of pillow lace, often sewed upon other laces to widen them or to replace a worn-out purl or picot. Originally of white thread, this campane lace was varied by being made of gold thread and colored silks. Evelyn, in his *Fop's Dictionary*, 1690, gives "Campane, a kind of narrow picked lace" (picked means peaked).

Purl, spelt also pirl, pirle, pearl, perll, or pufle, is difficult of precise definition. It was likewise a narrow trimming, either a lace or a galloon. It was never a solid strip, but whether of worsted, silk, thread, or gold wire was always of openwork design — a lace. It was used as an ornamental adjunct to other laces, and was often simply a succession of tiny points or twists. In the New Year's gift of Queen Elizabeth were "sleeves covered all over with purl."

A light little lace of small lozenge pattern, about an inch and a half wide and with a narrow purl edge, a lace known as a "four-penny-spot" was much used as an edging for kerchiefs and cap-ruffles. It is a bobbin lace of fine flaxen thread, often worn soft with many washings. It was known as "baby lace,"

and was used much on infants' caps. Trolly-laces, everywhere advertised, are difficult of description. The sole difference which distinguishes them from other narrow thread laces is that they have a double-patterned mesh, not a simple net background. Trolly-net was used to make caps like the queen's nightcap, or any cap of large size and substance.

Mignonet lace, called also minonet, minuet, menuet, never exceeded two or three inches in width; it was a light, fine pillow-lace, a sort of blond lace, extremely favored for head-dresses. It was made in France, Normandy, and Switzerland, and Americans often called it Swiss lace or Swiss thread lace. It is now obsolete, though it is such a graceful, becoming lace. Fine real laces were for a time supplanted by gauze. "Gauze heads are now the top mode," writes Mrs. Delany in 1729. Gauze was a poor-looking material, and a sorry substitute for the beautiful Brussels lace. Mrs. Delany adds: "I will send you one exactly in the fashion. You will think it strange, coarse stuff, but it is as good as the Queen's."

Mr. Felt quotes a letter written from Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in 1720: —

> "Mobs are now worn but not so long by a quarter of a yard as mine. I was forced to cut mine half a quarter from each end to make them short enough for the fashion."

The mob-cap was also called the Ranelagh mob, because it was so much seen in those celebrated gardens. The Ranelagh was made of stiff gauze, twisted about the head, crossed under the chin, and

Mrs. Dorothea Lynde Dix.

fastened behind with the ends hanging down. Some of the market-women, who sold green stuff in Covent Garden, used to wear silk handkerchiefs wrapped round their heads in this way, and a certain fair one took a fancy to this head-gear, and made herself a mob like it in fine lawn. Others followed her. The mob-cap had a checkered career. At one time it was deemed over-light in character. It closed its career with a reputation of prudishness.

Mrs. Samuel Stringer Coale.

There still exist letters written in 1724 by Edmund Quincy to his daughter, "Dorothy Q.," while she was visiting in Springfield, Massachusetts. In one he writes: —

"Half a yard of Muslin being too little for 2 Headdresses your sister has sent you one yard wanting half a quarter which cost her ten and sixpence, and the 2 head (dresses) cost fourteen shillings — so much I paid for and tis the best thread and muslin for the price."

A mercury was a cap worn in 1755 to 1765; the *Boston Evening Post* had "gauze net, bugles, lace, &c. for Mercuries." It was said to have wings on either side, set around with beads, bugles, or paste jewels of many colors.

Mrs. Delany told one year of caps "with vast winkers"; and in 1756 she recounted this headdress: —

"Heads are variously adorned, pompons with some accompaniment of feathers, ribbons or flowers; lappets in all sorts of *curli wurlis;* little plain cypress gauze, *trolly* or fine muslin caps; long hoods are worn close under the chin and tied behind, the earrings go round the neck, and tye with bows and ends behind. They curl and wear a great many *tawdry* things, but there is such a variety in the manner of dress, that I don't know what to tell you is the fashion."

In 1766 the cap was rather mean and small in comparison with some of the past modes, and also in the companionship of the great hoop. Some did not wear a cap at all, but "in room of a slip of cambric or lace, planted a whimsical sprig of spangles or artificial flowerets."

> "Now dressed in a cap, now naked in none,
> Now loose in a mob, now close in a Joan;
> Without handkerchief now, and now buried in ruff;
> Now plain as a Quaker, now all of a puff."

The close caps, ridiculed as nightcaps, worn by ladies in 1773, are described by contemporary observers as odious, unbecoming, and frightful. "If the ladies could see themselves," says one writer, "thus hood-winked in a proper light, they would immediately throw off the disguise, and carry what is far more becoming — an open countenance."

In the year 1772 we find Anna Green Winslow writing to Miss Caty Vans about a cap which Miss Vans had offered to make for the little girl — a "Queen's Night Cap." Anna's aunt thought "it was a black skull cap lined with red which Miss Vans meant, which she thought would not be be-

coming to Miss Green's light complexion," and she declined it. But learning what the cap really was,

Mrs. Faith Savage Waldo.

the materials were sent to Miss Vans, the cap was made, and after a few days this entry appears in the diary: —

"This Minute I have rec'd my Queen's Night Cap from Miss Caty Vans. We like it. Aunt says, if the material

it is made of were more substantial than Gauze it might serve occationally to hold anything mesured by ½ peck. But it is just as it should be, & very Decent. & she wishes my Writing was As Decent. But I got into one of my frollicks at sight of the Cap."

And well she might, dear, happy child! for on the head of Martha, wife of George Washington, painted by Savage, is her favorite cap, and it is this very queen's nightcap. We can picture a child of twelve wearing that cap — a great frolic truly. Madam Dorothy Lynde and Madam Daniel Waldo both wear forms of the queen's nightcap. These two clever, intelligent women were neighbors in Worcester; and I am sure the same milliner made both of these magnificent caps. Mrs. Oliver Ellsworth wears a similar one.

Wonderful variety was given to millinery in the last quarter of the eighteenth century by the sudden introduction of the black laces of Chantilly. Chantilly lace is silk, but is not glossy; it is what is called "grenadine," and is often and wrongly deemed a thread lace, and is known as "black thread lace." The original pattern-books of one establishment exist, with autograph letters of Marie Antoinette, the Princess of Ligne, and other ladies of the court, giving orders for laces, or commenting on past purchases, etc. Du Barry was a large buyer.

The Chantilly manufactories fell in 1793; it was deemed a royal lace, and hated accordingly. Some of the unhappy lace-makers perished with their patterns on the scaffold. All lace-making suffered. Over thirty kinds of lace were abandoned, and their

manufacture has never been revived; it is extinct. Valenciennes lace-making was transferred to Brussels. The nearness to Paris had proved anything but a blessing in those terrible days. With the empire came again lace buying; and soon were

Mrs. Daniel Waldo.

revived some of the old laces, and there appeared the black blond lace known now as Spanish lace. This went largely to Spain and the Spanish colonies in America. The beautiful Cuban mantillas of those days we all have seen; they have become family heirlooms. It was not till 1835 that black

lace took a permanent place in woman's dress as fixed as white lace. Chantilly lace is now made in many places, chiefly in Bayeux; but it has retained deservedly the name of the place of its creation.

It would be idle to enumerate the various designs which were borne on the heads of women at about the time of the American Revolution. There were "garden" styles with flowers; "kitchen-garden" modes with vegetables fastened to the side curls and heaped on top; "rural" styles had windmills, which turned in the wind, a sportsman and deer, a shepherd and sheep. The "peal of bells" was a headful of ringing bells; the "treasurer" showed the hair dangling with coins. The "naval battle" displayed a French ship of war in full sail, in spun glass. This might have been worn by the Duchess de Chartres, a most unusual woman, whose intimacy with and appreciation of John Paul Jones is one of the most fascinating and romantic side-lights of American history. But this forceful, intelligent, and thoughtful woman chose to wear instead a perfect museum of little figures of spun glass, silk, silver wire, and human hair. Among them was a figure of her son (afterward Louis Philippe) in his nurse's arms; also a little negro, a parrot nibbling a cherry, and figures made in the hair of her kinsfolk and friends. Truly we may say of this rigging, in Carlyle's words, —

"Here assembled from all the four winds, came the elements of an unspeakable hurly-burly."

Many examples of the work of Charles Willson Peale appear in this book, for he was a most prolific

Mrs. Robert Morris.

artist. One of his most marked portraits is that of Mrs. Robert Morris. She wears, in this picture, the extreme of high head-dressing; and that in Philadelphia, the home of Quakerism.

There was a Philadelphia cap worn in France, and named, of course, during the great popularity of Franklin during his visit to France. One almost disgusting name was the *pouf à l'inoculation*, named in honor of the discovery of inoculation for small-pox. This great *pouf* bore a crown, emblematic of the king; a serpent and club representing medicine, the wisdom which had destroyed the terrors of the disease; the olive branch meaning peace and tranquillity, which came after the operation.

The *Times*, in 1794, says, "The ladies' feathers are now generally carried in the sword-case at the back of the carriage." A little later came a paragraph as follows: —

"There is to be seen on Queen Street a coach on a new construction. The ladies sit in a well, and see between the spokes of the wheels. With this contrivance, the fair proprietor is able to go quite dressed to her visits, her feathers being only a *yard and a half high!*"

I give an old print showing a sedan-chair open at the top to make room for the peaked roll of a macaronic head.

A new word appeared in the latter half of the century — pennache. You will find it constantly used for a number of years in describing head-dressing. The pennache was a "bristle-plume," a stiff bunch of feathers standing stiffly up in front of the head-

dress or hat. It was held to be part of a Grecian coiffure. The word "pennache" appears in other and unusual places. At one time it seemed to be used in the sense of chenille.

Mrs. Abraham Redwood Ellery.

The beautiful embroidered collars, capes, undersleeves, caps, and ruffles, which every "old American family" cherishes so faithfully and in such numbers, are haloed with a tradition of vast age. Their beauty, delicacy, and marvellous workmanship are reason enough for their preservation, without any question as to their antiquity. Few are very old. These fine embroideries nearly all owe their existence to the revolt of Marie Antoinette against formality and ceremony, with their incidental accompaniment of heavy and rich dress. She could not show this revolt at public functions, but in private life she gave up the rich laces of heavy

point, and wore fine, embroidered India muslin and mull.

"The ladies of the Court look like cooks and convent porters, in their muslin aprons and kerchiefs," wrote the indignant Maréchale de Luxembourg, and she sent to her granddaughter in derision aprons and fichus of sail-cloth. The well-known portrait of Madam Roland shows that the plainest neckerchiefs were worn.

Mrs. Armira Wilson Tyler.

The accounts of the famous Rose Bertin, the queen's favorite milliner, give little lace. Some of the portraits of the day show spotted blond capes and caps, like Mrs. Rudd's and Lady Acland's caps. Tulle appeared in the French dictionary in 1765, as a kind of lace like that called entoilage — which is the plain net upon which the pattern is worked. Tulle was originally made on a pillow.

In 1768 net was first made by machinery; bobbinnet was invented in 1809. Pin-net, spider-net, barleycorn, all are advertised by that year. They mark the introduction of lace-making machines.

These simple nets were used with the domestic embroideries, which were being made so happily in

every household of English-speaking girls and women. Cowper writes in *The Winter Evening*: —

> " Here the needle plies its busy task
> The pattern grows, the well-depicted flower
> Wrought patiently into the snowy lawn
> Unfolds its bosom ; buds, and leaves, and sprigs
> And curling tendrils gracefully dispos'd
> Follow the nimble fingers of the fair —
> A wreath that cannot fade."

A constant reference in fashion notes of the early years of the nineteenth century is to " urlings lace " and " urling." In Ackerman's *Repository*, samples are given. It is net, like tulle, but much stronger, being apparently of a very fine linen thread ; but it is not as stiff as trolly-lace. Sometimes sprigs and dots were woven in it. The color was yellowish, not pure, bleached white. Its effect in festoons, knots, folds, and puffs was not unlike tulle or a very fine net. Whole robes were made of urlings, to be worn over silk or satin slips. It was employed as a substantial ground or foundation for tambour-work, which was then greatly admired for caps.

Mrs. Hesselius wrote in 1788 a sketch of the Primrose household, entitled *The Family Picture*. In it she said of her daughter Charlotte : —

> " To tambour on crape she has a great passion
> Because here of late it has been much the fashion."

Of Caroline : —

> " She loves to tambour on muslin as misers love pelf
> Sometimes for her friends but still more for herself."

Charlotte's pretty face is shown on a later page. Her mother wrote other lines of her: —

"Good humoured and thoughtless she can't be called vain,
Though she loves a craped head and is fond of a train.
In the morning her features she will not expose,
For the flounce of her cap almost covers her nose.
Her handkerchief's crimpt and up to her chin,
But generally partial for want of a pin.
When dressed still her head has a great deal of trash on,
If her gown is pinned crooked 'tis made in the fashion."

A favorite mode of hair ornamentation in 1797 to 1810 was through the use of squares or scarfs of gauze.

This fashion was invented and elaborated by the celebrated Leonard, coiffeur of Marie Antoinette, who alternated locks of hair with strips of gauze. He is said to have used over fourteen ells of gauze in dressing a head.

Mrs. Adam.

Embroidered silk, or fringed crape, or even soft handkerchiefs were also knotted in the hair. Sometimes the fringed edge was tufted in among the many curls. At other times the embroidered edge was folded diagonally into a jabot at the side of the

head. Sometimes the gauze scarf was twisted with a lock of hair; or even was braided with the hair into a Cadogan loop at the back. Broad sash ribbons were twisted into turbans; heavy cords and tassels were twined among the hair. Long bands of rather wide ribbon were tied around the head, and curls and loops of hair were pulled out in the interstices, as in the portrait of Lady Johnson. Narrow Greek fillets were worn; and nets confined the long loops at the back and small nets held the side buckles in place.

Trumbull painted nearly all his women sitters, except in extreme old age, with these gauze fillets and kerchiefs. Gilbert Stuart was equally devoted to their portrayal. It was a pretty picturesque mode, sure to please an artist's taste.

Stuart's charming portrait of Mrs. Robert Eglesfield Griffith, whose maiden name was Maria Thong Patterson, was painted in the year 1797, when she was twenty-three years old. Her father was a major in the British army, who, in 1758, had married Catryna, the daughter of Robert Livingstone. Their daughter was therefore by birth, education, and station in the best social circle, and her dress was doubtless that of a woman of fashion. The painting is one of Stuart's best. It faces this page. Her abundant hair is curled all over the head, and falls on the neck. A soft, silken ribbon a few inches wide is twisted into a fillet which passes low twice on the left side of the head (once over the ear), and is tied high on the right side in a most graceful and coquettish knot. The dress has a simple sur-

Mrs. Robert Eglesfield Griffith.

plice body, long, plain sleeves with a shoulder-cap which is short at the top of the shoulder, and is edged with a slight lace or ribbon. The gauze fillet on Mrs. James Greenleaf varies in form slightly. A fashion-note of the year 1815 ran thus: —

"No caps are seen in full dress on young women; but the hair in full curls, or otherwise fancifully disposed in the Grecian and Eastern style, and ornamented with gems or flowers. To the morning dress, however (and, indeed, with the intermediate order of costume), they must ever be considered a becoming and appropriate appendage. The old English mob, the Indian feather cap, French foundling, and Grecian nightcap, are the only wearable articles admitted by us fashionable females."

A certain head-dress worn early in the century showed Oriental influences — the turban. Nine-tenths of the portraits of women in the years near 1820, women in youth and women in old age, display a turban. It may be called the characteristic head-dress of a quarter of a century. It was so loved that many women thought it would always be worn — an everlasting mode. The well-known one of Madame de Staël is a popular example. A most charming one made of an Oriental shawl is upon the lovely head of the beautiful Mrs. Gilmor.

Mrs. Erskine of Philadelphia writes with high praise of turbans of soft muslin, "with Bird of Paradise feather put at the side and drooping low over one eye."

The noble face of Mrs. Porcher has a simple fillet or turban with a Bird of Paradise plume drooping at one side.

Soft orange-colored gauze or silk was a favorite in turbans. I can imagine no greater trial or triumph of beauty than to wear an orange-colored turban; and it must have been a trial not worth

Mrs. Porcher.

the chance of triumph. The picture is amusing, of a score of women's heads at an assembly surmounted by orange-colored turbans; it is like a field of cheerful, hearty pumpkins. It is strange to account for their popularity.

# CHAPTER XXI

## HATS, BONNETS, AND CALASHES

"*That build of bonnet whose extent*
*Should like a doctrine of dissent*
*Puzzle church-goers to let it in.*
*Nor yet had reached the pitch sublime*
*To which trim toques and berets climb.*
*Leaving, like lofty Alps that throw*
*O'er minor Alps their shadowy sway*
*Earth's humbler bonnets far below*
*To poke through life their blameless way.*"

— Thomas Moore.

"*Hail great Calash! o'erwhelming Veil*
*By all-indulgent Heaven*
*To sallow Nymphs and Maidens pale,*
*In sportive kindness given.*"

— "Rivington's New York Gazette," 1780.

# CHAPTER XXI

## HATS, BONNETS, AND CALASHES

HAVING written of the hat of Madam Pocahontas and Puritan dames, and having given a chapter, as its due, to the venerable hood, and another chapter to head-gear such as cauls and cornets, coifs and ciffers, cross-cloths and chin-clouts, commodes and towers, veils and dominoes, lappets and liripipes, fontanges and shades, mobs and night-caps, poufs and pennache, there would seem to be little else to chronicle as to woman's head-gear; but beaver hats were not the only hats our grandmothers wore; nor must we be silent upon that comparatively recent acquisition, that delight of delights, a woman's bonnet.

A letter written in Dorchester by a lover to his lass, in 1647, tells of "thinking upon you for a hat & chose out ye comelyest fashion hatt yt they could find avoiding fantastick fashions. Ye hatt was a demi-castor the priz was 24s." This plain beaver hat, like the ones worn by Pocahontas and the Tub-Preacher, were succeeded by the Cavalier hat, or the Van Dyck hat, as it is called. It was in shape just like the man's hat of that day; the ostrich plumes may have been a bit gayer in color. But I am not

sure even of that. Here is a picture by Pepys. Can you not see it?

"1663, The Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies; she looked mighty out of humor and had a yellow plume on her hat which all took notice of, and yet is very handsome but very melancholy. I followed them up to White Hall and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying on one another's by one another's heads and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me considering their great beautys and dress that ever I did see in my life. But above all Mrs. Stewart in this dress, with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taille is I think now, the greatest beauty I ever saw in my life."

And pray who would not have followed the gay, laughing, careless group, with solitary, sulky my lady; I warrant *she* did not let Mrs. Stewart try on *her* hat and yellow plume.

It is given to few authors to be able so to stimulate and illuminate the brain of the reader that he is able to see, to visualize, the scene which the author describes. Often this is accomplished with very few words, and with most simple words. Pepys has for me this power. Long descriptions by many authors naturally afford to us every detail, and thus form a picture; but Pepys, Hardy, and Besant can accomplish it with half a dozen lines, with a few phrases.

The word "bonnet" is found in English literature used in the sense in which it is now employed in Scotland; that is, applied to the close-woven caps

Charlotte Hesselius.

worn by men. These have various names, "glengarrys," "kilmarnocks," "balmorals," etc. But the term "bonnet" applied as to-day to a woman's outdoor head-covering does not appear in America to my knowledge till 1725, when Madam Usher's wardrobe was sent to England; two silk bonnets are on that list. By the middle of the century, milliners in New York and Boston all advertised and made bonnets. "Quilted bonnets, Kitty Fisher bonnets, Quebeck bonnets, Garrick bonnets, Ranelagh bonnets, French bonnets, Queen's bonnets, Cottage bonnets, Russian bonnets, Drawn bonnets, Shirred bonnets,"—all these names appear.

After a period when French hats were fashionable bonnets came again into popularity; and we may deem them as a whole the head-covering of women of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century we have once more turned to hats, and a real bonnet with strings is harder to find than the poke-bonnet of the Quakers.

Working in straw has ever been an industry of women, as was also its invention. Mrs. Isabel Denton of Beeston, Leeds, England, invented straw hats in the time of Charles I, and maintained herself and a large family thereby.

In a work written by a Pennsylvania Quaker in 1685 he urges that schools be provided where girls may be taught among other arts and mysteries "the making of straw works, such as hats and baskets." His useful hint was not carried out in any fulness till a century later, when many Americans awoke to simultaneous consciousness that the costly and

intricate straw bonnets made of the beautiful Italian braids could be successfully imitated at home.

It is curious that the first recorded effort to manufacture straw in America should be through a patent awarded to a woman, Mrs. Sybilla Masters of Philadelphia, and that this woman was the first American ever awarded a patent in England for anything; and that the first patent issued by the United States was to a woman, and for an invention for straw-plaiting.

A Connecticut girl, Sophia Woodhouse, took out a patent for a new straw material for bonnets, a new way of preparing the upper stalks of spear-grass and redtop grass. This girl took a prize in America for a hat she plaited in a single piece, like a Leghorn hat; and a prize of twenty guineas for a straw hat, from the London Society of Arts. The wife of the President, Mrs. Adams, wore one of Miss Woodhouse's bonnets, and it was "much admired" by the President, who, I believe, admired everything that rested on Mrs. Adams's head.

A young girl named Betsey Metcalf, of Providence, Rhode Island, started the manufacture of straw head-gear in this country. She wrote late in life an account of her venture, which I give in part: —

"In compliance with your request I will write an account of my learning to braid straw. At the age of twelve I commenced braiding. My father, Joel Metcalf, brought home some oat straw which he had just mowed in June, 1798. I cut the straw and smoothed it with my scissors and split it with my thumb-nail. I had seen an imported bonnet but never saw a piece of braid, and could not tell

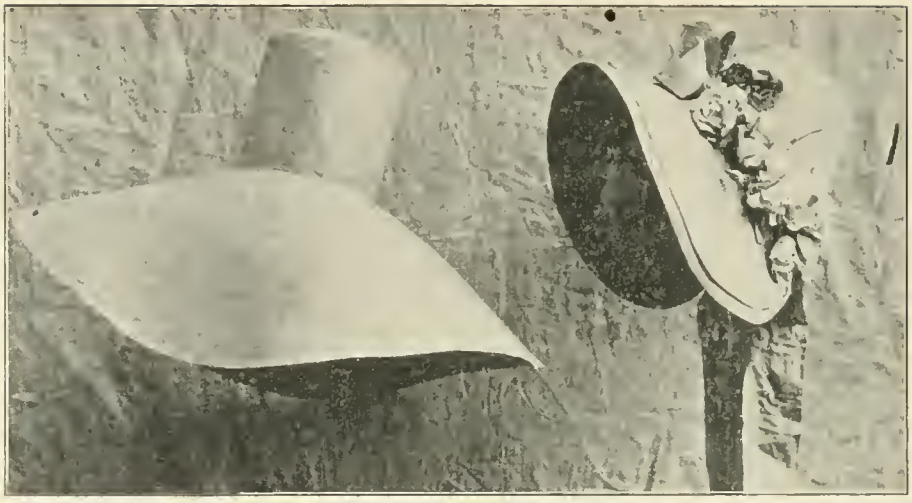
Mrs. Abigail Adams Smith.

the number of straws. I commenced the common braid with six straws and smoothed it with a junk bottle, and made part of a bonnet, but found it did not look like the imported ones. I added another straw and then it was right. An aunt who resided in the family encouraged me, while most of my friends said I should never learn. She would sit and hold the braid while I braided many yards, thus keeping it straight and in place. We bleached the braid with fumes of sulphur."

Claims are made for several other young women who lived at this time, that each one is the pioneer straw-braid maker in this country. The truth is, they all began at the same time. Like many more important inventions, — the steamboat, for instance, — the idea of the thing came to several inventive minds at the same date, because conditions were ready for it, and also because, in this case, conditions forced it; for during the embargo no foreign hats came to American women, so they had to braid their own straw hats or live without them.

Another simple reason may be given for the simultaneous making of straw braid in America. Straw work was vastly fashionable that year in England. In 1783 the manufacture came to perfection, and under the protection of the Duchess of Rutland "straw-works" became the rage.

Paillasses, or "straw coats," were worn; they were made of sarcenet, calico, fine linen, trimmed and ornamented profusely with straw. A correspondent of the *European Magazine* bursts forth, "Straw! straw! everything is ornamented in straw, from the cap to the shoe-buckles; Ceres is the favourite, not



Ancient Leghorn Hat and Bonnet.

only of the female but the male part of the fashionable world, for the gentlemen's waistcoats are ribbed with straw." A caricature called "a bundle of straw" was published to ridicule the taste. But it was not easy to destroy the liking for straw trimmings, for the simple reason that they are, as we all know (though they are not now worn), extremely becoming. The soft, pale yellow tint suits almost all complexions.

The making of straw braid was a pleasant home employment for young women of small incomes who wished to earn pocket-money. I recall that when I was a child, in driving through country villages with my father, I often saw young women sitting at their doorsteps, on a sunny summer afternoon, braiding straw. It was clean work too, which recommended it. All straw braids are now bought in Italy in vast wholesale bales.

Leghorn hats were sold in America as early, certainly, as 1730.

In 1731 these Leghorn straw hats were lined with green, and had, in that guise, much popularity; it being a time of "pride that apes humility."

In 1732 a writer in the *Weekly Rehearsal* speaks thus of "High-Croun'd Hats": "After being confin'd to Cots & Villages so long a time, they have become the Mode of Quality & the politest Distinction of a Fashionable Undress."

These hats were named Churchills after the beautiful sisters of the Duke of Marlborough. Then came the Leghorn chip worn by the beautiful Miss Gunnings. Leghorn hats were costly. I recall one of my childhood that cost $25. Others were said to cost $50. They would last for years, with annual cleaning and re-pressing into new forms. Hats made of shavings were worn in the year 1800.

Lavinia Hat.

In 1751 Harriot Paine had for sale in Boston "Saxon blue silk and Hair Hatts, black horsehair & Leghorn hatts," and in 1753 "Black & White & Black Horsehair Hatts emboss'd and stampt Sattin Hatts." "Fine beverett hatts with tabby linings," "tissue sattin & chipt hatts," were sold in South Carolina as in the more northern states. We gain

a little suggestion of contemporary historical events and persons by such names as "Quebeck Hats and Garrick Hats." We know prices also, "Womens chipt Hats 60s. O.T. per doz." in 1764, and "4s. 6d. apiece, O.T." in 1767. The Salem *Gazette* advertised, in July, 1784, "Air Balloon" and "Princess" hats. These were French fashions.

In 1796 Sally McKean (afterward Marquise d' Yrugo) wrote thus to the sister of Dolly Madison, of the fashions of her day: —

"The hats are quite different shape from what they used to be; they have no slope in the crown, scarce any rim, and are turned up at each side and worn very much on the side of the head. Several of them are made of chipped woods commonly known as cane hats; they are all lined. One that has come for Mrs. Bingham is lined with white and trimmed with broad purple ribbon put around in large puffs, with a bow on the left side."

Never were fashions more varied than under Marie Antoinette. Straw and chip bonnets were worn, then great beaver hats. Susannah Reed, writing to Mrs. Rutherford in 1787, said that "a Scarlet Great Coat and black beaver hat with feathers was the most elegant morning dress worn."

In 1784 to 1786, inclusive, only two years, the shape of women's hats changed seventeen distinct times, — hat-caps, close shapes, large bonnets, pouf hats with military trophies, black gauze hats without crowns, and other odd forms.

I show, on the following page, three broad-brimmed hats known as riding-hats. These came

into fashion in 1786, and were worn for four years. They were a bit too wide and heavy for comfort, but are certainly graceful and becoming. Usually they were trimmed with a scarf or ribbon or feathers. A French taste brought in 1792 a pointed-crowned felt hat, with a narrow tricolor ribbon laced around

Riding Hats, 1786–1790.

the crown in lozenge shapes; also a hat of the year 1794, shaped from the bonnet of the French peasantry, and called "The Duke of York's nightcap." This usually had an enormous round crown. Riding hats also were trimmed with a deep lace frill, such as is worn by Mrs. Abigail Bromfield Rogers.

A curious custom arose of hat-wearing within-doors by ladies; they danced wearing hats. And they carried muffs in evening dress also.

I present in this book two portraits of Mrs. William Smith, who was Abigail Adams, daughter of President John Adams. One is with a muff and in a curly wig; the other in a picturesque feathered hat. Her mother wrote in 1786 a lively description of her in full dress: —

"A small white Leghorn hat, bound with pink satin ribbon; a steel buckle and band which turned up the side and confined a large pink bow; large bow of the same kind of pink ribbon behind, a wreath of full-blown roses round the crown, and another of buds withinside the hat, which being placed at the back of the hair brought the roses to the edge — you see it clearly? One scarlet one, one black feather and two white ones complete this head dress. A gown and coat of Chamberi gauze with a red satin stripe over a pink waist; coat flounced with crape and trimmed with broad point and pink ribbon, wreaths of roses across the coat; gauze sleeves and ruffles."

Bonnets of 1810.

These bonnets are the four common shapes worn in 1810; they were called the Gypsy, the Beehive, the Polish fly-cap, the Cottage. The latter is worn over a foundling cap.

The poke-bonnet appeared for general wear in 1804, and was at once attacked. The *Portfolio* called it repulsive. It was then called a coal-scuttle bonnet.

The *Philadelphia Repository* of the year 1802 reprinted fashion-notes from London. These are the modes given in hats: —

"The Bonapartian hat is coming into vogue. It consists of white or salmon colored satin, in the form of a

helmet, surrounded with a wreath of laurel, and worn much on one side. Plain white hats in the gypsy style, without any ornament whatever, are tied carelessly under the chin with pea-green or pink ribbon."

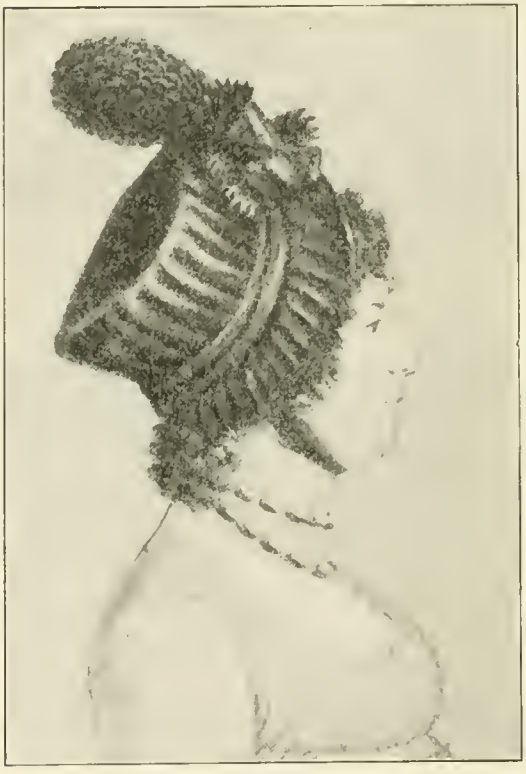
Bonnets of 1815.

Many of the contemporary fashion-plates display this Bonapartian helmet set askew in a rakish air most unsuited to the classic helmet shape and laurel wreath.

The "Lavinia" hat, 1805–15, was a broad-brimmed hat like the gypsy hat. It is given in this chapter, with a feather. Often it had no trimming, not even a ribbon. A very dispiriting advertisement is of an artist-milliner who, in 1798, "makes up worn out umbrellas into gipsy bonnets." I am glad I never saw one of these horrors, and happier still am I that I never wore one.

We learn from the newspapers of 1800 what headgear was for sale; "straw, vellum, cane, willow, and chip bonnets, maids' village straw bonnets; women's and dames' bag, gipsy, volney, Leghorn, Tuscany, Norway, and Oatlands straw bonnets." These straw bonnets were worn in winter as well as summer; and in 1800 were generally tied on the head with a crimson silk kerchief. This seems to have

been a universal mode assumed without any regard to the color of the bonnet-trimming; for one description is of a "green willow-bonnet" trimmed with orange-colored gauze ribbons, and black and white feathers, "tied down with a crimson silk handkerchief."



The Polish Casquette.

Sometimes it was tied down with a rich half-handkerchief of lace, or a folded veil of silk and lace. This was in 1807 called the Agrippa hat. The "Troutbeck" was a flat straw hat worn in 1803. The hat on this page was very popular, and was known as the military, and also as the Polish casquette.

A constant item in advertisements of about 1800 to 1820 is roram hats. A Romany maid stole her mistress's "Gray Roram Hat with Purple and Green Feathers and gold band." Roram was the first step toward an imitation of the old and well-beloved beaver hat. Roram was a wool or felt, with a facing of long beaver fur felted in. It was in a sense a false beaver. Beaver was growing scarce, and imita-

tions were sure to be made. The letters of Eliza Southgate Bowne to her sisters in Maine give glimpses of metropolitan fashions in 1803.

"Caroline and I went a shopping yesterday, and 'tis a fact that the little white satin quaker bonnets, cap-crowns, are the most fashionable that are worn — lined with pink or blue or white; but I'll not have one, for if any of my old acquaintance should meet me in the street they would laugh, I would if I were them. I mean to send sister Boyd a quaker cap, the first tasty one I see; Caroline's are too plain, but she has promised to get me a more fashionable pattern."

One of the most charming portraits I have ever seen is the beautiful Gainsborough of Captain Ricketts, his wife, and child (the frontispiece of this volume). The colors are perfect, and the whole composition beautiful. But the chief interest it has for us now is in the young mother's dainty dress — especially her hat. For the hat she wears in this portrait is, by tradition, the shape declared by Gilbert Stuart to be the most graceful, most becoming, most altogether charming hat ever worn by woman. It is held to be good in outline, adequate in trimming, and perfect in poise. We seldom can have the pleasure of seeing the most beautiful hat ever worn.

There were many country devices for covering the head; slat sunbonnets were universal. One is given in this chapter; also another of green silk. Shaker bonnets were small pokes made of straw-board. A quaintly ugly bonnet was the calash.

This is said to have been invented by the Duchess of Bedford in the year 1765, though it is claimed that similar head-coverings may be seen on English effigies of the sixteenth century. It is found in English woodcuts of the year 1770, and I believe was worn before 1765. It was also called the "bashful bonnet." The calash was usually made of thin green or brown silk shirred on strong lengths of rattan or whalebone placed two or three inches apart, which were drawn in at the neck by a cape. These lengths when bent into hoop shape by the cape had a diameter sometimes of twenty inches. The calash was extensible over the face like the top or hood of an old-fashioned chaise or calash, from which latter it doubtless received its name. It could be drawn out over the face by narrow ribbons, or bridles, which were fastened to the top edge. It could also be pushed flatly to the back of the head. Thus,

Green Silk Sunbonnet.

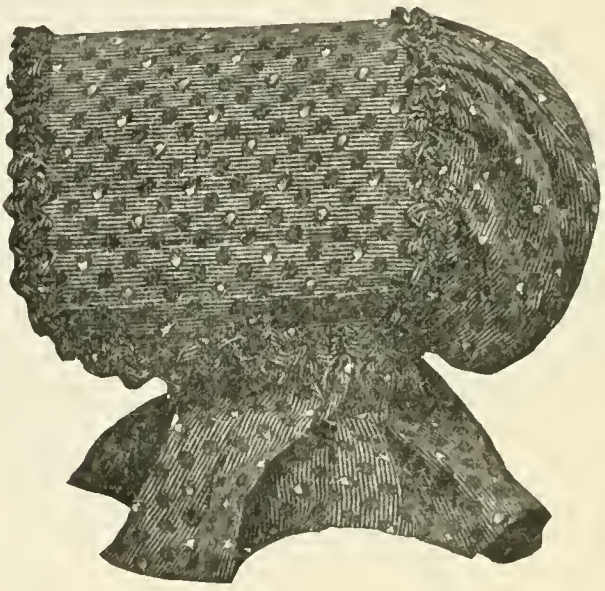
standing well up and touching only at the neck, the calash formed a good covering for the high-dressed and powdered heads of the date when it was worn,—from 1765 throughout the century,—and for the great lace caps worn in the beginning and even the middle of the nineteenth century. These were

Calash or Bashful Bonnet. 1790.

frequently a foot and a half in diameter. Madam Dorothy Lynde Dix wears one which would have, as said Anna Green Winslow, "the capacity of a peck measure."

Calashes were worn by old-fashioned ladies until fifty years ago; chiefly for an informal call or a stroll down the garden border. Last summer I saw an

old lady standing in a calash by the roadside, near Lexington, Massachusetts, waiting for a friend to alight from one of the electric cars which have penetrated into every New England township. Before these cars, and the automobiles, will soon vanish all we have had left of the quaintness and reserve of the olden time.



Slat Sunbonnet.

One singular thing may be noted in this history, — that with all the vagaries of fashion, woman has never violated the Biblical law that bade her cover her head. She has never gone to church services bareheaded. The wife of an English naval officer was recently excommunicated because she had persisted in thrice attending church without bonnet or hat.

# CHAPTER XXII

## THE POCKET

"*Here's to budgets, packs and wallets,*
*Here's to all the wandering train.*"

— BURNS.

"*Lucy Locket lost her pocket,*
*Lucy Fisher found it.*"

— "Old Nursery Rhyme."

# CHAPTER XXII

## THE POCKET

THAT Lucy could lose anything so distinctly an inherent part of a dress as a pocket was a puzzle to me as a little girl until I saw the detached pocket of the child we called "our milk girl." She was the daughter of the farmer who provided the folk of our neighborhood with milk; her name was Apolline. I have told of her brilliant beauty, of her more brilliant mind, in my book, *Old-time Gardens*. She wore by her side, strongly fastened with tapes to a belt wrought in crewel-work, a pocket of strong-figured chintz worked in with silk in the high lights of the flowers. It would contain very nearly, perhaps fully, a peck of country goodies, such as apples, pears, checkerberries, pippins (the young, tender leaves of the checkerberry plant), pop-corn, nuts, sweet flag-root, sassafras bark, slippery-elm bark, wild ginger, and its contents were a constant surprise and delight.

Varied in form and name, attached and detached, these pockets were worn till the present day. As "a pair of pockets" they appear in colonial inventories as early as the year 1650, and I cannot find that our modern dress-pockets sewn in the skirt of a gown were in general wear until fifty years ago.

These pockets were worn under the gown in Cromwell's day. There is a satirical contemporary print of Oliver Cromwell preaching. At one side in the foreground a pickpocket has raised the gown-skirt of a rapt woman listener, and is rifling her hanging-pocket.

Detached Pockets of Figured Calico and Embroidered Linen.

After the pockets were worn under the gown some one invented having them sewed into the placket of the gown. The kinship of the words "pocket" and "placket" is not very well known. At first, apparently, a placket was this pocket sewed into the gown or petticoat. We read in an old play, "For fear of cut-purses she'll sweep it into her plackerd." Then the word "plackert" was applied as now to the opening, not the pocket.

These pockets were a favorite gift. We often read in letters of "working a pocket" for a friend. They served to display the varied and beautiful sampler stitches learned by every little girl.

A Pair of Pockets.

Here is the copy of the clause of a letter from Esther Duché in London to her aunt, Mrs. John Morgan in Philadelphia, Pa., April 19, 1782.

"It is with great pleasure, my dear Aunt, that after such a length of time I have now an opportunity of writing to you. My Sister is sitting by me writing also. I am sure you would be very much diverted to see her; she is so proud of having it to say that she has wrote a letter to her grandmama. She has just finished a pair of Pockets for her which she is to send by this opportunity."

One pocket of fine white linen, a foot square, bears these unpleasant and ill-spelled lines, worked by a little girl ten years of age: —

"Jesus, the Saviour was a Child like thee
Save the Foul Nature in thy Bosom bred.
But oh! how much thy Blessings Disagree
With his coarse Swaddling Clothes and Manger Bed.

"Like Him, a child, approved by Earth and Heaven
Mays't thou in Wisdom as in Stature grow.
And chearful deferance to thy Parent given
His filial Love exemplefy anew."

Eleanor Wortley of Yorkshire married in succession Sir Harry Lee and then three old gentlemen, — all earls, — Sussex, Warwick, and Manchester. As Lady Sussex she kept up a lively correspondence with Sir Ralph Verney and his father (in whose cipher correspondence she was known appropriately as "Old Men's Wife"), and many of her letters have been preserved. Nothing was too petty to bring forth a letter from her, and she revelled in making her correspondents go shopping for her. She gives thus a commission for the material for what she terms "a swite bage," which was, I am sure, a perfumed pocket. The spelling was that of her day: —

"If you woulde plese to employe somebody to chuse me out a lase that hath but very littell silver in itt, and not above a spangell or two to a peke I think would do well; I would not have it too hevy a lase; about the breth of a threepenny ribinge, very littell broder will bee enofe; and desier Mrs. Verney I pray you to chuse mee out some ribinge to make stringes; six yardes will be enofe; some shadoed sattin ribinge will be the best, of fourpenny breth; and I would fain have some littell eginge lase as slite as may be to ege the strings and but littell silver in it; ten yards will be enofe."

In 1787, in the will of Hannah Lord of Ipswich are named dark calico pockets, white dimity pockets, a patch pocket, a pair of pockets, left each to some friend. Pockets are constantly named in wills; Mrs. Morgan bequeathed hers to a friend — possibly the very pockets made by "Sister."

Mrs. Stewart.

When a sedate New England dame left to her lifelong woman friend her "embroidered dimity pocket with the pocket-glass, comforter, and strong-waters-bottle kept within it," the bequest bore a convivial aspect which it did not really deserve. For the pocket-glass was a tiny folding mirror; the comfortier but a hand-warmer, a little box to hold within a muff; the strong-waters-bottle was frankly what its name bespoke, namely, a goodly sized barrel-shaped flask of strong Bristol glass, flowered with red and yellow, and used for holding New England rum. It could be carried with the glass and comfortier in the muff or in the pocket. There were distinct provisions in many wills for ample liquor for feminine use, as in a will of a respected Concord gentleman that his widow have ample cider

and New England rum supplied her each year; that she "may treat as she has been accustomed to do."

The word "pocket" is the old French *pouchet*. Allied words are "poke," "pouch," "pucker." In *Piers Plowman* it became "palke." Chaucer tells of "two pigs in a poke"; here a poke is a bag. Chaucer also used the words "poket" and "pouch." Shakespere's shepherd "drew a dial from his poke," a sun-dial from his pocket.

Pocket and purse form a word-study. When there was little circulation of coin, there was no need of purses. When purses became necessary, pockets were evolved to hold them.

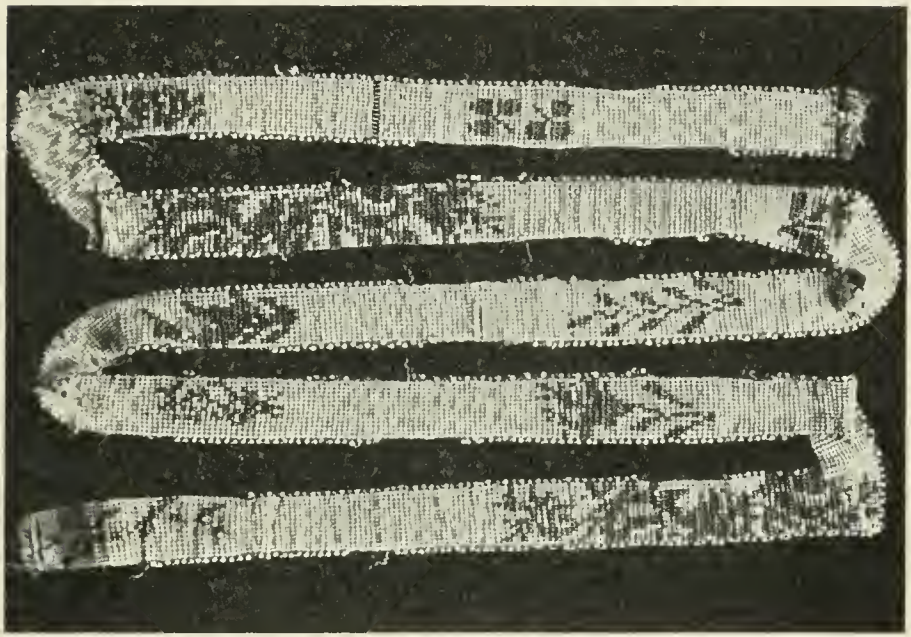
The reticule and balantine were part of the attire of the *Merveilleuses*. Balantine was the old name for a bag like the hussars' sabretache, and this form was worn like the hussars' bag hanging at one side. Some of the first reticules were woven of horsehair. Then they were made of the same material as the spencer or pelisse, the outer garment.

The time of their constant wear was during the empire fashions. The scant, gauzy garments, the tunics and peplums, gave no opportunity to wear a pocket, and they were too frail to sustain one, so women were forced to carry a pocket in their hands, or to go without one. That would never please the arbiter of fashions, the Empress Josephine, for she must always have a fine handkerchief at hand, of fine lace, or embroidered in gold; for she had an awkward habit — the only awkward act of her life — of holding a handkerchief before her

Mrs. William Jackson. By Gilbert Stuart.

mouth when talking or smiling, for her teeth were poor.

Another word for a reticule was "cabas"; the *New English Dictionary* calls this an Americanism, and gives as an example a use in the year 1885. Of course, this is wholly inadequate, for the word is



Bead Chain.

used by Charlotte Brontë. It is in *Villette* (1853): "the patterns for the slippers, the bell-ropes, the cabas were selected; the slides and tassels for the purses chosen." In Lady Morgan's *Dramatic Scenes from Real Life* (1833), a cabas is described as a novelty in England. The word meant originally a rush basket for figs or dates. It was made familiar to Europeans through Napoleon's campaigns in

Egypt. For a time cabas was always a work-basket frilled with ribbons; then it was a bag — small — of any material.

Another appropriate term for a reticule was "indispensable." Eliza Southgate's sister sent her a pretty silk indispensable in 1805. We read that in 1806 the rows of pretty peeresses brought sandwiches in silk indispensables to eat in court during Lord Melville's trial. It is said that they were bags with long strings, by which strings they were hung on the back of a chair if the woman seated herself.

The charming bead bags which are now so fashionable are not novelties; they are in many cases literally old. New bags are made to imitate the old ones; these are worked on canvas, or made of purse silk and beads with knitting-needles or crochet hook; but the beads of the new examples are seldom of as fine kinds or as varied or rich in color as those of the old bags. These new bags are costly, but not as high priced as the ancient ones; indeed, the old ones were never low priced. In 1800, $5 was the regular price paid for knitting a bag, and the many-tinted beads were costly. The stringing alone was a matter of much work, as it was done by rule; if the number of beads varied from the rule, the design would be knit awry, and when horses, barns, houses, churches, trees, and flowers formed the picture, such mistakes were grave ones. Some women raised silkworms in small numbers, and wound, twisted, and made their own strong purse-silk. Besides the pouch-shaped bags, long, narrow purses with a slit in the middle held coin at each

end. Watch-chains were also knitted, bearing initials, dates, and tiny checker designs.

A handsome pattern for knitting a bead bag was a treasure beyond price; its written rules were given only to nearest and dearest friends. Simple designs could be counted out from existing bags. Many a tale of domestic jealousy and social envy centred around these bags. In one New England town Matilda Emerson reigned a queen of bag-makers; her patterns were beyond compare; one of a Dutch scene with a windmill was the envy of all who beheld it. She was a rival with Ann Green for the affections of the minister, a solemn widower, whose sister kept house for him and his three motherless children. Matilda gave to the parson's sister the written rules for a wonderful bead bag (the design having originated in Boston), a bag which displayed when finished a funereal willow tree and urn and grass-grown grave, in shaded grays and purple and white on a black ground; a properly

Bead Bags. 1810.

solemn bag. But when the pastor's sister essayed to knit this trapping of woe, it proved a sad jumble of unmeaning lines, for Ann Green had taken secretly the rules from the knitter's work-box, and had changed the pencilled rules in every line. When the hodgepodge appeared where orderly symbols of gloom should have been seen, the sister believed that Matilda had purposely written them wrong in order to preserve her prestige as a bag-knitter; and she so prejudiced her brother that he coldly turned from Matilda and married, not Ann, but a widow from another town. Disappointed of her desired husband, Ann tormented herself with her New England conscience until she revealed her wickedness to poor Matilda, whose reinstatement in the parson's esteem could not repay her loss of his affections.

# CHAPTER XXIII

## DRESS OF THE QUAKER

"*Though stately the ostrich-plume gracefully throwing*
*Its feathery flashes of light on the eye;*
*Though tasty and trim the straw bonnet when glowing*
*With its ribbons so glossy of various dye;*
*Yet still must I own, although none may seem duller*
*Than a simple drab bonnet to many a gaze,*
*It is, and it will be, my favourite colour*
*Around which my fancy delightedly plays;*
*And it well suits my muse with a garland to wreathe it*
*And echo its praises with gratefullest glee,*
*For — knowing the goodness that oft lurks beneath it —*
*The bonnet of drab beats a turban with me.*"

— "The Bonnet of Drab," BERNARD BARTON.

"*Dear Sisters, These things we Solidly recommend to yor Care and Notice, in a degree of yt Divine Love wch hath previously manifested itself for ye Redemption of ye Vain Conversations, Customs and Fashions yt are in ye World; that we might be unto ye Lord, a Chosen Generation, a Royal Priesthood, an Holy Nation, a Peculiar People.*"

— "Women ffriends at Yearly Meeting at Burlington, 21st of 7th Mo.," HANNAH HILL, 1726.

# CHAPTER XXIII

## DRESS OF THE QUAKER

THE letters and journals of good old Quakers, the abuse of them by their enemies, the accounts of their many legal difficulties, the records of their meetings for sufferings, have all been consulted by me whenever and wherever possible for several years with a view to writing an extended study of Quaker dress. A far more exhaustive and sympathetic study has been made by one whose knowledge came from within, by Mrs. Amelia Mott Gummere, and published under the title *The Quaker*. Of the motives and spiritual history of the Friends Mrs. Gummere knows far more than any outsider could hope to learn, though I have studied carefully their transactions and have ever been familiar with their meetings.

A Quaker meeting-house set in a large grassy lot and shaded with tall cedars and whispering pines and hemlocks was my neighbor from earliest childhood in my New England home. Thirty years ago a drab-coated and drab-hatted congregation of wealth and influence came each First and Fifth Day, went within the leaden-hued walls, opened the heavy shutters, and sat sometimes for hours on the hard,

narrow benches; the rows of broad-brimmed hats on one side of the house, and rows of white net caps and rich gray silk bonnets on the other; the older and sedate members were on the higher seats in a gallery raised in the background, overseeing the meeting literally as they did spiritually.

"In gown of gray or coat of drab,
They trod the common ways of life;
With passions held in sternest leash,
And hearts that know not strife.

"To yon green meeting-house they fared
With thoughts as sober as their speech;
To voiceless prayer, to songless praise,
To hear their elders preach."

Substantial carriages and good horses bore them to the door and filled the horse-sheds, from which an occasional impatient whining and stamping mingled with the sound — monotonous and droning, yet pleasing — of inspired testimony or acceptable teaching from visiting minister or home teacher which floated out — half-chant, half-speech — on the sweet summer quiet. At other and far more meetings the spirit did not "move"; and after a sitting of hallowed thought they rose, shook hands and departed. To one not of Quaker birth or faith these hours of stillness and rest bestowed a balm and blessing for the closing years of his life, as he sat each First Day among the rapidly thinning ranks of Friends. As long as any Quakers would meet, the meeting was held; but here, as in other communities, young lives wearied of Quaker restraint,

and the meetings dwindled. In Wickford, Rhode Island, for some years two Quakers only attended the meeting. Beriah Brown and Holland Vaughan came each First Day, shook hands, sat with their hats on side by side in solemn silence through a proper term, then rose, shook hands again, and parted.

To the Worcester meeting came another fate than dwindling by death, or desertion to other folds. In their houses, as in their meetings, Quakers had no pianos, and no songs were heard; and ever plain of speech were they. But, alas! times have changed since that fatal May meeting at Lynn when music was "approved." The Worcester meeting-house has been painted yellow and white, and has new green window-blinds, — a sight to make one weep, — and every Sunday the shrill notes of Moody and Sankey hymns with parlor-organ accompaniment rend and pierce the air; and the pine and hemlock trees have died. I know not why, but I can guess the reason. Few who enter these walls speak with "thee" and "thou," and the Quaker men and women in Quaker garb, save a few aged Friends, have vanished with the pines and hemlocks. Among the Sunday-school children there is not a Colton, Hadwen, Earle, Chase, or any of good old Quaker name; but people say with great satisfaction that it is no longer a dull old Quaker meeting, but "a hustling mission."

Well do I recall the serenely tranquil faces of those Quaker mothers, women dressed in the dignified, substantial garb worn by Elizabeth Fry, a dress whose rich material and ample folds combined a cer-

tain beauty, the effect of which was curtailed by the ugly Quaker bonnet.

I am sure the person of intelligence is yet to be found to whom the figure of Elizabeth Fry, shown in this portrait by Richmond, is not the personification of womanly dignity and beauty in old age. Nor have I ever known any one to deem her dress other than becoming. Of course in this we are much influenced by the great elegance of her figure, her fine proportions, and erect carriage, and her indescribably winning face. It influences us in the portrait as she influenced in life all who saw her.

Among the most interesting pages in Mrs. Gummere's book are those which, to use her own words, "attempt to show that the typical Quaker dress has been, in the case of the men, a survival of the original dress of Charles the Second, while that of the women has been an evolution, having its continuation one hundred and fifty years later in the costume of Elizabeth Fry." The dress is shown of George Fox, the Quaker preacher and founder of the faith and order of Friends. His hat was that of Charles the king, minus the feather. Both men wore the hair cut across the forehead, hanging in curls on the shoulder. Plain linen bands take the place of lace ties. The cloth doublet of Fox is shaped like the king's silken coat. Knee-breeches, stockings, low shoes, both wear. Fox's breeches have no points; his stockings are homespun; his shoes have no ribbon roses. The long cane is common to both. This is all. "The Dress of the Quaker was simply the Dress of everybody, with all extravagances left off."

Elizabeth Fry.

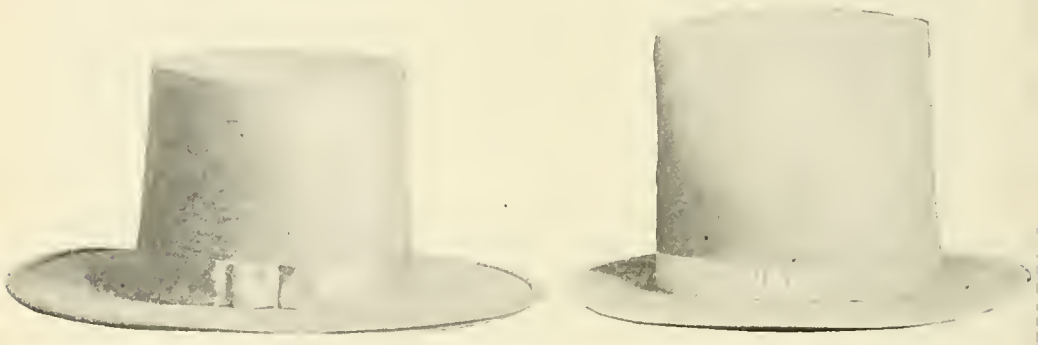
This dress of Elizabeth Fry's was not at all the dress of the original Quakeress. Drab and gray and brown had not been selected as Quaker colors. At first all Quakeresses wore colored aprons of green or blue, but preferably of the former color. The quarterly meeting at Lincolnshire in 1721 said distinctly, "We think Green aprons are Decent and Becoming to us as a People."

In 1698, Aberdeen meeting said: —

"Let none want aprons at all, and that either green or blue, or other grave colors, and not white upon the street or in public at all, nor any spangled or speckled silk or cloth or any silk aprons at all."

But few details are known of the dress of Margaret Fox, the wife of George Fox. Her son-in-law sent her a white mantle and a white sarcenet hood in 1670; and we know that her sisters had all the worldly garments of their times — black hoods, alamode whisks, sky-colored stockings, red petticoats, masks. Fox bought a scarlet mantle for his wife, but he denounced "unnecessary buttons," "short sleeves," and "vizards," — though his sister-in-law wore one, — and he was wrathful over "long slit peaks behind in the skirts of your waistcoats." One young woman, ordered by George Fox to sew up this slit, answered that she saw no evil in it, and had been advised by another Quaker that she should be sure herself that it was evil, and not think so because others said so. This slit was the placket-hole, and it was the fashion of the day to draw the petticoat out through it.

I cannot find that any of the early Quakeresses wore what we call Quaker dress. The two wives of William Penn differed much in dress. I have noted that both wore black hoods, as did every other woman of that day. One was a fair, young creature, Gulielma Springett, to whom Penn wrote that beautiful love-letter which is one of the most exalted and exquisite examples of English composition known in our language. Her dress has



Quaker Hats of Leghorn and Beaver.

not a suggestion of Quakerism. See page 240. Hannah Callowhill, the second wife, is plain of face and dress, as may be seen in her picture on page 242, but her collar is laced, and her dress is not that of a Quaker. A copy of a Dutch print called "The Quaker Meeting" is shown in this book. Therein it may be seen that the Quaker "Tub-Preacher" wears a beaver hat and dress like other women of her day; while her woman-hearer is in a hood.

George Fox hated the "skimming-dish hat"; *his* Quaker women all wore hoods shaped like the French

hood. These were known by the various names that "the world's people" used, cardinals, capuchins, riding-hoods. In 1707 the Southwark meeting in London had to enter in their records that "several women Friends do usually hang their riding-hoods on the rail of the gallery so low that Friends that sit under the gallery are incommoded."

I suppose the first step taken to set the skimming-dish hat in place was to wear it over the hood. But at last it outlived the hood; and by the years of the American Revolution, Watson, the annalist of Philadelphia, could write that the Quaker women of that Quaker city wore large white beaver hats with scarcely a sign of a crown, which were confined to the head by silk cords tied under the chin.

In a painting of a Quaker meeting in 1778, the older women wear the old hood; others the "skimming-dish hat," or the modern Quaker bonnet. It is a great surprise to be told that the "bonnet of drab" known irreverently as the sugar-scoop, the poke-bonnet, the stiff-brim, the coal-scuttle, is comparatively a new thing. This sentence is found in *A Memorandum Book belonging to Ennion Cook, of Birmingham, Chester County, Pennsylvania*, dated 1820. Ennion Cook was the village schoolmaster, and the old memorandum book is in possession of a descendant. It runs: —

"Martha Routh, a Minister of the Gospel from Old England, was at Goshen (Pennsylvania) Meeting the 11th day of 11th mo. 1798; was a means (if I mistake not) of bringing bonnets in fashion for our leading Frd's, and hoods or Caps on the Cloaks in the Galleries, which of Latter

time the Hoods on the Cloaks of our overseers and other active members have increased to an alarming hight or size: — how unlike the dress of their grandmothers!"

The Quaker bonnet is indeed a solemn subject; to the chosen people it could speak of distinctions of belief. The wearer, by its folds and plaits and flare, was known to be Hicksite, Gurneyite, or Wilburite. The crown of the Gurneyite bonnet tipped up an eighth of an inch more than that of the Wilburite, which is the Philadelphia plain bonnet, and was rounded down at the ears. The crown had a plait at each side, while the Wilburite was plaited on the top. The English Quaker bonnet had a cape, and was gathered, not plaited, and flared out at the face, and had a smaller front. It is said that the stiff-plait bonnet was regarded as rather gay when it was first worn. Ann Warder was reproved for wearing a whalebone bonnet instead of one of pasteboard. A doll model dressed like the Quaker Rebecca Jones of Philadelphia (who died in 1817) had a bonnet with soft, gathered crown while the large cape had three points, one at the back, one hung in front of each shoulder.

The "pinched cap" seems to have been assumed at an early date, though Quaker women are constantly being warned against "long lappets" and "fair pinners at a side," with other frivolities. Long-eared caps were worn by some, round-eared caps by others. The prevailing modes of women's dress always were reflected in a faint tinge of alteration in Quaker dress. Thus when all world's people wore

empire gowns, Quaker maids and some of the elder women had shorter waists than of old. When mutton-leg sleeves appeared, Quaker sleeves swelled out. If cap-crowns rose high on Martha Washington when her husband was President, so they did on her pretty Quaker neighbors in Philadelphia. Even the big, flat, beaver hats were worn by world's people and the chosen ones alike; and bonnets were assumed as general wear by all together.

In 1786 an English Quakeress named Ann Warder landed in New York. She wrote some most entertaining letters which we are fortunate enough to have to-day. She was a quick-witted, quick-sighted, quick-tongued woman, and her letters reveal all these qualities. Her first letter to England says: "The women all wear short gowns, a custom so truly ugly that I am mistaken if I ever fall into it. Notwithstanding they say I shall be glad to do it on account of the heat." The short gown was simply what we would now term a dressing-sacque, and doubtless was comfortable in hot weather. I cannot understand why such a very shapeless and meaningless dress could ever have been worn in public as it was both in America and England.

The short gown seems to have been made of cotton or linen stuff, lawn or calico. A bed-gown was a similar garment of woollen, and corresponded with a man's nightgown. These, too, for a time were worn without-doors.

It is amusing to an outsider to read the articles of dress over which Quaker saints were "exercised." Suspenders caused an Ohio meeting many anxious

moments; umbrellas at various times were offensive. Yet Edward Shippen had an umbrella in 1738, eighteen years before Jonas Hanway carried his in London.

Excess in red cloaks was one of the exaggerations of dress deplored by sober Quakers, in spite of George Fox's wife; and trollopees were most offensive, though they did not mind the short gown. Caricatures of both articles forced them into disuse. In Philadelphia a woman felon was led to the gallows in a scarlet cloak; and the wife of the hangman paraded the town dressed in derision in a great trollopee.

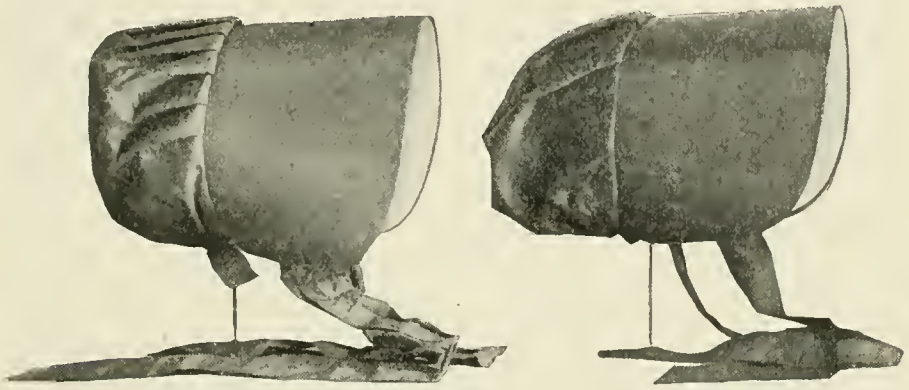
Ann Warder wrote thus in 1788 in Philadelphia:—

"I put no cloak on this forenoon, but was obliged to afterward, not to look singular, for some had long ones lined with Baize down to their toes, but no hoods, instead of which a lay-down coular (collar) which would look very disagreeable to me but for the Cape to their Bonnets, hiding the neck. Black are worn more here than with us;—no Brown except Cloth."

The "immodest fashion of hooped petticoats" grieved all Friends sorely. Thomas Chalkley was moved to deep abjurations of its horrors. Rilston meeting specified "Quilted Petticoats sett out in Imitation of Hoops; some wearing two together."

Some of the lamentations read almost amusingly to "world's people" of to-day. Mrs. Gummere gives these extracts from the diary of Ann Whitall, a Quakeress of Red Bank, New Jersey, written in 1760:—

"Oh will there never be a Nehemiah raised at our Meetings to mourn and grieve! Oh the Fashions and running into them! The young men wearing their hats set up behind and next its likely will be a ribbon to tie their hair up behind. And the girls in Pennsylvania have their necks set off with a black ribbon — a sorrowful sight indeed. There is this day Josiah Albertson's son — all the son he has — and his hat is close up behind! O I think my eyes could run down with tears always for the



Quaker Bonnets.

abomination of the times! So much excess of tobacco; and tea is as bad, so much of it, and they will pretend they can't go without it. And there is the calico! Oh the calico! I think tobacco and tea and calico may all be set down with negroes, one as bad as the other."

In another world Samuel Sewall and Ann Whitall now have met, and understand at last why they were so afflicted with hair and hats, and tobacco and tea, and ribbons and wigs. Strange is to learn that while Ann Whitall mourned like Nehemiah over the black ribbon on the young girl's neck, she herself wore a straw bonnet lined with pink silk. Silk

seems to have been all right, so it was not in the form of ribbons.

Much testimony as to dress has been preserved in the records of the actions taken at the various Friends' meetings. Thus, in 1695, Philadelphia yearly meeting advised: —

"That all that profess the Truth and their Children, whether young or grown up, keep to Plainness in Apparel as becomes the Truth and that none wear long-lapped Sleeves, or Coats gathered at the Sides, or Superfluous Buttons, or broad Ribbons about their Hats, or long curled Periwiggs, and that no Women, their Children or Servants dress their heads immodestly, or wear their Garments indecently as is too common; nor wear long Scarves; and that all be careful about making, buying or wearing (as much as they can) strip'd or flower'd Stuffs, or other useless & superfluous Things, and in order Thereunto, that all Taylors professing Truth be dealt with and advised Accordingly."

Women Friends of Burlington, New Jersey, issued this specific warning: —

"Dear and Well-beloved Sisters:

"A Weighty Concern coming upon many ffaithful ffriends at this Meeting, in Relation to divers undue Liberties that are too frequently taken by some yt. walck among us & are Accounted of us, We are Willing in the pure Love of Truth wch. hath Mercifully Visited our Souls, Tenderly to Caution & Advise ffriends against those things which we think Inconsistent with our Ancient Christian Testimony of Plainness in Apparel &c., Some of which we think it proper to Particularize.

"As first, That Immodest ffashion of hooped Pettycoats, or ye. imitation of them, Either by Something put into their Pettycoats to make ym sett full, or Wearing more than is Necessary, or any other Imitation Whatsoever, Which we take to be but a Branch Springing from ye. same Corrupt root of Pride.

"And also That None of Sd ffriends Accustom themselves to wear their Gowns with Superfluous ffolds behind, but plain and Decent. Nor to go without Aprons, Nor to wear Superfluous Gathers or Pleats in their Capps or Pinners, Nor to wear their heads drest high behind, Neither to Cut or Lay their hair on ye fforehead or Temples.

"And that ffriends are careful to avoid Wearing of Stript Shoos, or Red or White heel'd Shoos, or Clogs, or Shoos trimmed wh. Gawdy Colours.

"Likewise, That all ffriends be Careful to Avoid Superfluity of Furniture in their Houses, And as much as may be to refrain Using Gawdy floured or Stript Callicos and Stuffs.

"And also that no ffriends Use ye Irreverent practice of taking Snuff, or handing Snuff boxes one to Another in Meetings.

"Also That ffriends Avoid ye Unnecessary use of ffans in Meetings, least it Divert ye mind from ye more Inward & Spiritual Exercise wch. all ought to be Concern'd in.

"And also That ffriends do not Accustom themselves to go in bare Breasts or bare Necks."

Friends were quick to adopt any simple forms of dress; for instance, the shawl. The plainness of outline of this article of dress at once pleased them, and soon every Quakeress wore a pretty square of gray cashmere cloth folded shawl-fashion.

Mrs. Gummere notes the great variability in the

dress of Quakers, but she gives one rule of dress which is rather surprising. These are her words: —

"Through the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century all plain Women Friends wore gowns with low necks and short sleeves. This, I think, may be taken as an universal rule. The neck was protected by a dainty muslin or lace handkerchief folded across the bosom and pinned at the waist at each side. Over this was worn a soft silk shawl."

Yet the portrait of Elizabeth Fry, which was painted in 1824, is not with short sleeves, nor do her sisters wear short sleeves.

An excellent picture of the dress of a Quaker gentleman about the time of the Revolution is given of Jonathan Kirkbride. It reads thus: —

"During his preaching expeditions, he went out mounted on a pacing horse, a pair of leather saddle-bags, containing his wardrobe, hung behind the saddle, a silk oil-cloth cover for his hat, and an oil-cloth cape over the shoulders, which came down nearly to the saddle, as a protection from storms. Stout corduroy overalls, with rows of buttons down the outside to close them on, protected the breeches and stockings. A light walking-stick did double duty, as a cane when on foot and a riding whip when mounted. . . .

"He wore a black beaver hat, with a broad brim turned up at the sides so as to form a point in front, and rolled up behind; a drab coat, with broad skirts reaching to the knee, with a low standing collar; a collarless waistcoat bound at the neck, reaching beyond the hips, with broad pockets, and pocket-flaps over them; a white cravat served for a collar; breeches with an opening a few inches above and below the knee, closed with a row of buttons and a

silver buckle at the bottom; ample silver buckles to fasten the shoes with; fine yarn stockings. . . .

"In winter, shoes gave place to high boots, reaching to the knee in front, and cut lower behind to accommodate the limb."

Another Quaker minister is described thus by Ann Warder in 1789:—

"His dress unstudied, a Cocked Hat, Clumsy Boots, Brown cloth large Breeches, Black Velvet Waistcoat, light old Cazemar (cassimere) coat, handkerchie instead of stock which is tied on without much pains. Conceive J. W. (her husband) with his suit — Nankeen Inexpressibles and white silk stockings, much more resembling an English gentleman."

Miss Hill, in her *History of English Dress*, states that Quakers did not wear wigs. I would she could read the minutes of Quaker monthly and yearly meetings during wig-wearing years. One is the meeting of Massachusetts Friends in 1719, when "A Concern is lying on this Meeting Concerning of Friends wearing Wigs." Sandwich quarterly meeting indorsed the wearing of a small decent wig. As early as 1700 Philadelphia desired testimony as to "Long Periwigs," and "extraordinary Powdering," and they warned their younger members against extravagance in wigs. London Quakers yielded to small wigs — they could not stem the tide. Many English prints exist of Friends' meetings; some are caricatures, a few are not; in these half the Quakers are pictured with wigs.

There were other sects that advocated a dress much like the Quaker's. In Pennsylvania the Mennonites and the Dunkards wore plain drab or brown garments, and condemned buckles and buttons. Indeed, the Mennonites were known as "Hookers" from the hooks and eyes which fastened their garments. The Amish brotherhood in our western

The Gallery of the Meeting-house.

states still wear them, and are called Hookers. Shaker women wore plain Quakerish dress and close cap, and the excellent cloak called by their name. This originally was made solely in russet-colored and dull-blue homespun cloths. But as the "world's people" have discovered the utility of these cloaks, the Shakers (being above all things else money-getters) make them of all kinds and grades of cloth, and sell them for a goodly profit.

# CHAPTER XXIV

## THE HISTORY OF THE RIDING-HABIT

"*Some Women (Oh the shame!) like ramping Rigs,*
*Ride flaunting in their powder'd Perriwigs;*
*Astride they sit (and not ashamed neither),*
*Drest up like men in Jacket, Cap, and Feather!*"

— "A Looking Glass for the Times," THOMAS ELLWOOD, 1670 (circa).

"*Walking here in the galleries I find the Ladies of Honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine; and buttoned their doublets up to the breast, with periwigs and with hats; so that only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats nobody could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and a sight that did not please me.*"

— "Diary," SAMUEL PEPYS, June 12, 1666.

# CHAPTER XXIV

## THE HISTORY OF THE RIDING-HABIT

IT can be seen plainly that in America, though coaches, chaises, chairs, and carriages were found in all the large cities as soon as there were roads for their use, and often before there were suitable roads, and sedan-chairs were also known, still the general travelling was on horseback. Nor was it for travelling only that a woman rode. She needed a horse for the everyday outdoor events of life; for going to a friend's house or to market; she needed it above all for going to church. In rough roads women rode astride in America until Revolutionary times, just as women had ridden over sorry English ways.

Queen Anne, consort of Richard II, had ridden sitting sideways, but found few to follow her fashion. The first illustration of a woman's saddle with a crutch may be seen in a portrait of the Countess of Newcastle, painted about 1650; the second crutch did not appear till a century later, and then rarely. After all, very few women rode alone on horseback; nearly all sat on a pillion behind a man rider. We pulled down an old pillion from an ancient garret two summers ago. It was a leather

cushion about a foot and a half long and ten inches wide; the edge of the leather was cut in a pattern; a foot-board hung on the off side; and there was a metal handle to which the rider could cling. We had it beaten fiercely to try to shake from it the dust of a century; sewed a fresh heavy linen cover over the worn moth-eaten cushion; and had strong leather straps replace the crumbling ancient ones. It was done in jest to amuse a young girl who was slowly convalescing from a fever; and the exercise of riding around the farm-lanes (and the laughter over the ride) were important factors in her recovery.

Foot-mantle.

In ancient days the fair wearer often held fast to a stout leather belt worn by her male companion. She was usually lifted into the pillion after he had mounted; but in an ancient book upon horsemanship, written by one Stokes, is an absurd picture of

a gentleman vaulting into his saddle *after* the lady was in her place. In Mexico the woman used to ride seated in front of the man. This is said to be very wearying to the horse; for the man's seat is not on the croup, and is scarcely changed from its ordinary position; while hers is necessarily well up on the horse's withers.

There would appear to be little in the dress of Elizabeth and her gentlewomen that was masculine, though there was much in men's dress that was of feminine aspect; yet there were complaining critics who thought women too eager to assume men's fashions. We have read Stubbes's wails over doublets and jerkins; another complained: —

> "With her long lock of hair upon one side
> With hat and feather worn in swaggering guise
> With buttoned bodice skirted doublet-wise,
> Speak! Could you judge her less than be some man?"

There was, however, special dress for riding, as we learn from the inventory (still existing) of Queen Elizabeth's garments. We know thereby that the queen had in the year 1600 thirty-one cloaks and safeguards; thirteen safeguards; and forty-three jupes and safeguards. The safeguard was a heavy petticoat of wool or linen stuff, worn as its name indicated to guard women's other garments from mud and mire while riding. It was worn by Elizabeth with a cloak or a jupe; or apparently simply over the petticoat of a formal gown with no other waist-covering. Another name for a safeguard was a weather-skirt; and Chaucer called it a foot-mantle

or foot-cloth. The Wife of Bath rode in one. A very old woodcut of a "fote-mantle" such as she wore is reproduced on page 616.

Men also wore foot-cloths. Aubrey wrote of the great Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood, thus: —

"He rode on horseback with a foot-cloth to visit his patients, his servant following on foot as the fashion then was. The Judges rode also with their foot-cloths to Westminster Hall; which ended at the death of Sir Robert Hyde, Lord Chief Justice. The Earl of Shaftesbury would have revived it; but several of the Judges, being old or ill-horsemen, would not agree to it."

The substantial figure of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, faces page 618. A sensible old gentleman in furred robes of office and a foot-cloth, mounted on a steed such as received everywhere the significant title of a "foot-cloth nag," he trundles along in a secure confidence which finds fitting expression in his carrying in one hand a nosegay of "corona-tions" and honeysuckle — the sweetest of sweet flowers. His long-eared nag scarce needs so ponderous a curb. The coat-of-arms hanging on "the honeysuckle tree," and the carved motto on the trunk beneath, are as quaint as the rest of the sedate figure in coif with citizen's flat-cap over all.

Safeguards were worn in America as long as women rode universally on horseback. In 1654 a Salem woman, Ellinor Tresler, had "a Sad-collered Cloak, Wascote, Safeguard and Gouene to goe together." Governor Winthrop sent to his grand-

William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in a Foot-cloth.

daughter "a gown peticote and safeguard." Another woman had "a safeguard cloak and hood suitable." Thus we see that these formed a complete riding equipment. In Pennsylvania, in 1771, the English visitor, Ann Warder, found Quaker women riding to meeting in safeguards: —

"They are very shiftable; they ride by themselves with a safeguard, which, when done, is tied to the saddle, and the horse hooked to a rail; standing all meeting time as still as their riders sit."

Some of these Quaker "safeguards" have not been destroyed. They are of heavy linen. Another name given them in Pennsylvania was "riding petticoat."

No special riding-dress for women seems to have existed until the times of Charles II; this the Quaker Ellwood angrily reviled in verse, as quoted at the head of this chapter. He said further: —

"The Women wear the Trowses and the Vest
While Men in Muffs, Fans, Petticoats are Drest."

This wail of women's trousers was wholly imaginary unless English women wore a garment that had been devised in France in the time of the conflict of Catholic and Huguenot, when women had to fly from their homes and make long journeys on horses or mules. These were drawers, *calençons*, a sort of long hose, to be worn with doublet and petticoat. The *calençons* were the forerunner of the trousers of women's riding-habits of to-day.

Frequent allusions in contemporary plays and poems show the general annoyance and suspicion that women were going a step too far. *Will Bagnall's Ballads*, 1655, has this stanza: —

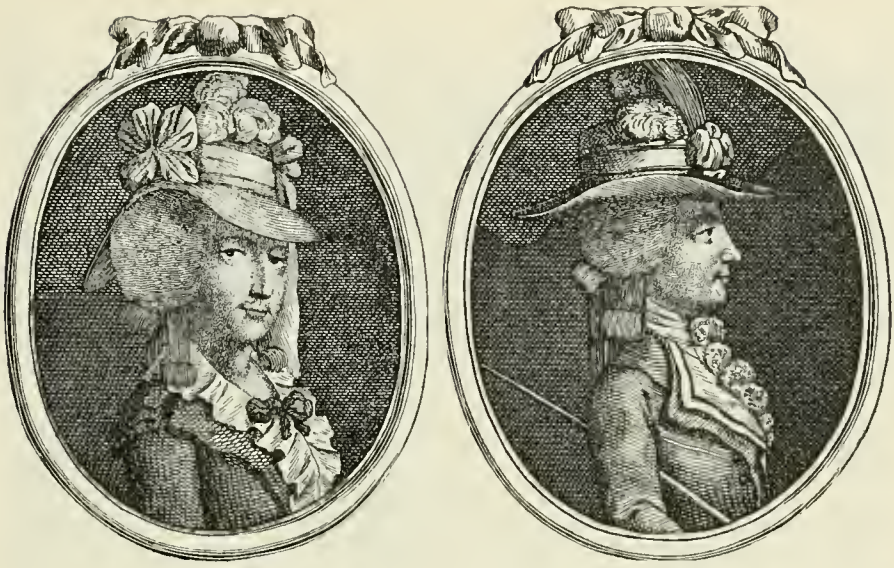
> "Doublets like to men they weare
> As if they meant to flout us;
> Trust round with poynts and ribband fayr.
> But I pray let's look about us,
> For since the doublet so well doth fit 'em
> They'll get the breeches if they can get 'em."

It is believed that doublets were first adopted by women as a riding-dress; then they became general wear. So was it with the garment called juste-au-corps by Pepys in 1667, when he met Lady Newcastle riding in one. Of course Mrs. Pepys had to have one, though she wore hers as she walked afoot.

The juste-au-corps was a jupon or jacket which came into fashion in Paris about 1650. The word was soon corrupted to justico in English speech.

The ladies of the court are described in a newsletter of the year 1682 as taking the air on horseback "attired very rich in close-bodied coats, hats and feathers with short perukes."

A lady's riding-dress was advertised in *The Spectator* of June 2, 1711, as of blue camlet laced with silver. Like Pepys, Sir Roger de Coverley had to look to the heels of the wearer to find out by petticoat or boots whether he should say Sir or Madam. When George II reviewed the Guards in 1727, he wore gray cloth faced with purple with a purple feather in his hat (such an ugly unmilitary



Riding-dress of 1784.

dress), and the eldest three princesses accompanied him in "riding habits with hats and feathers and periwigs" — this being the earliest use of the word riding-habit that I have found. In France ladies wore hoods on horseback — hence the riding-hood.

A writer of the year 1731 says thus of riding-dress: —

"The hat and peruke, which has been some time made part of a lady's riding equipage, is such an odd kind of affectation, that I hardly know under what species to range it. It adds such a masculine fierceness to the figure, and such a boldness to every feature, that neither decency nor elegance can justify it.

"The riding habit simply, with the black velvet cap and white feather, is, in my opinion, the most elegant dress that belongs to a lady's wardrobe; there is a grace and gentility in it that all other dresses want. It displays the

shape and turn of the body to great advantage, and betrays a negligence that is perfectly agreeable. This fashion was certainly invented by a woman of taste, and I am pleased to see the ladies in general so well reconciled to it."

These riding-habits were called Brunswicks, and various names were given in quickly succeeding years. The Brunswick was introduced into England about 1750. Brunswick was a name agreeable to English ears at this time, and in 1758 had a glory of popularity when Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick regained Hanover, which had been lost by the Duke of Cumberland in 1757. "Prussian cloaks" were popular at the same time, for they marked the Seven Years' War wherein England sided with Prussia.

Brunswicks had collars, lappets, and buttons like a man's coat. Of course Boston dames had to follow English fashions; so Boston milliners had Brunswicks for sale and Brunswick buttons and loops and Prussian cloaks likewise.

The surtout is almost as puzzling as the doublet. It was worn both by men and women, and is defined in the notes to Gay's *Trivia* as a joseph or a wrap-rascal. Now Sir Walter Scott in *The Heart of Midlothian* describes a wrap-rascal very distinctly as "a close-buttoned jockey-coat with large metal buttons, worn with coarse blue stockings called boot-hose because supplying the place of boots, and a slouched hat." Such garments were worn by the drivers of our American stage-coaches, with the addition in winter of a fur cap and gloves and a great scarlet sash. But I have never known a woman

Mrs. Thomson in Riding-dress.

to wear a wrap-rascal. The *London Chronicle*, 1762, describing the dress of "spruce smarts," says that men's surtouts had four flaps on each side like dog's ears. They had buttons and buttonholes for ornament only, so they were wrapped around the wearer like morning-gowns; "a proof," says the writer, "that dress may be made too fashionable to be useful." Certainly surtouts were women's wear as well as josephs.

Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* gives this definition; "Joseph, a kind of surtout, generally made of duffle and worn by females when riding." It was a garment shaped much like a man's greatcoat, buttoned closely down the front, and with capes or collars like the greatcoat. It was certainly worn on horseback, but in walking as well, whenever warmth and protection were needed. Goldsmith in the *Vicar of Wakefield* says, "Olivia would be drawn as an Amazon, dressed in a green joseph richly laced with gold and with a whip in her hand." The word would seem to be derived from Joseph's coat of many colors. In Rev. Zacharie Boyd's *Flowers of Zion* (he died in 1653) we read:—

> "Jacob made for his wee Josie
> A tartan coat to keep him cosie.
> And what for no; there was nae harm
> To keep the lad baith saft and warm."

The words "joseph" and "josie" were in common use in America from 1750 until almost our own day. In the advertisements of runaway servants and slaves we often read that they were

"dressed in a blue cotton Josie," or "wore a penistone Josey." In 1750 one Simon Smith of Boston, a "Taylor from London," made in addition to "all sorts of Men's and Boys' Cloaths, laced and plain," feminine garments which he termed "Ladies Habits and Riding Josephs in the newest Fashion."

About 1790 a longer riding-coat came into fashion, and was called the "artois." It was much like the joseph, having lapels and revers like a box-coat, but it had also several capes. It resembled the riding-coats of men at that date.

Two prints are given on page 621 of riding-dress in 1784. These were illustrations in a scurrilous London magazine called *Town and Country*, and form a part of a series of portraits of women, of note in England either for their beauty, rich dress, or extravagant or scandalous behavior. It was a record both of the gossip and costume of the day. These two riding-habits show the simpler form of the very jaunty English riding-dress which so charmed Frenchwomen. The coats and waistcoats were worn in France with much larger hats, and these great hats were perched on top of Cadogan braids, or plaits, which either hung to the waist or were turned up in a mode familiar to us to-day. A vast pouter-pigeon puff or necktie filled out the chest. This dress was called in France appropriately the *Amazone*. Moreau, in a fine series of engravings, has shown us "life" in his day, its fêtes, pleasures, ceremonies, functions; "life" in the salon, boudoir, country house, opera, court; "life" in the *Bois de Boulogne*, with women garbed in this

*Amazone* dress. And very becoming the dress was, far more gay and more attractive than riding-dress to-day in the same place.

A very interesting habit and riding-hat is shown facing page 622 on the portrait of Mrs. Hannah Harrison Thomson. She was of the Norris and Lloyd families of Philadelphia, and had been married according to the ways of the Quakers, but this habit is not a Quaker dress. It is of rich brown satin trimmed with braid and white satin frilling. The hat is a silky beaver, very long of nap; of "natural" color, but deeper in tint than usual. The satin ribbon is beaver colored. This was a costume of very good shape and cut, I feel sure. It was certainly the very top of the London mode. The countenance looks much older than Mrs. Thomson really was.

These riding-habits were not the only English fashions which invaded France. English driving-coats, cropped hair, pudding cravats, two watches with fobs, riding-whips, and walking-canes became favorite French wear.

Riding-habits were worn with full white petticoats when the skirts became full. Riding-trousers have been worn less than fifty years; white ruffled petticoats are seen at the lower edge of many of the riding-habits in *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Graham's Magazine*, as late as 1855.

When the short-waisted scant-skirted empire fashions prevailed, there were empire and classical riding-habits. The wives of Napoleon's generals wore such a dress as the *Amazone* of 1808, shown

here, which was a scarlet habit, short waisted, with onesided cap; the Glengarry, light blue, trimmed with lace and frogs was also much admired. (See page 627.) The hat is of cork, which must have been light in weight and very suitable. It is overweighted, however, with a great tuft of feathers nodding over the nose.

The Amazone. 1808.

It must be remembered that riding-dress fashions had not yet fixed on dark colors. Every tint of bright color was used, even figured materials. The Quakeress Elizabeth Fry and her six sisters, in girlhood, all had scarlet riding-habits, in which they dashed over the country, and ranged themselves across the road in high frolic to hold up the mail-coach. Cloth was, of course, the general material, but velvet was also used, and even silk. Skirts, as we know, were very full and absurdly long, until our own day.

There seemed to be no limit to the equipments and trimmings of habits. Where undersleeves were worn in full dress they appear on the habits; if fichus were the mode, fichus were worn on horseback while artificial flowers decked riding-hats, as well as long feathers. Necklaces even appear, and frequently chatelaines with watches and various trinkets. I have seen several old French and English fashion-plates in which the rider carried a carefully spread fan.

Glengarry Habit.

If ruffs were worn in full dress, ruffs appeared on horseback. If embroidery was worn, the habit was embroidered. A snip-waisted, soft-whiskered father wore a vast plaid waistcoat on horseback, while his little son is in pantalets and high stock on a pony. The young wife has a Scotch cap and long veil with her full habit. For many years, certainly fifty, a long, floating, blinding veil vied with a long ostrich plume for adornment of the

riding-hat. A bird of paradise was also eulogized as "quite the *jante* for the riding hat," though a wreath of weeping-grasses was called also "tippee."

The head-gear of a woman rider was often most absurd. Even in treatises as late as 1860 ladies were advised that riding in a bonnet was injudicious. I have seen a French print where a mounted dame was clad in a very trim habit with fairly short skirt and long-skirted coat much as is worn to-day; but her hat was a great heavy beaver with feathers over her eyes, and she carried an open parasol.

All these appurtenances indicate very mild horsemanship; and doubtless few women riders were very bold. I have a book of advice to equestriennes in which many words are given about choosing a "gently-ambling" horse, and one sentence says curtly, "For a woman to ride a trotting horse is indecent." Great stress was placed upon never riding fast. Therefore it was possible to hold an open parasol or to spread a fan with ease, instead of carrying a riding-crop.

# CHAPTER XXV

## BRIDAL DRESS

" *The Gardener stands in his bower door*
*Wi' a Primrose in his Hand.*
*And bye there came a leal Maiden*
*As jimp as a Willow wand.*

" *O Ladie! can ye fancie me?*
*For to be my bride;*
*You'll have all the Flowers in my garden,*
*To be to you a Weed.*

" *The Lily white sall be your smock,*
*It becomes your body best;*
*Your head sall be busk't in Gellyflower*
*Wi' the Primrose on your brest.*

" *Your gown sall be the Sweet William,*
*Your coat the Camovine;*
*Your apron of the Sallets neat*
*That taste baith sweet and fine.*

" *Your hose sall be the braid Kail-blade*
*That is baith braid and lang;*
*Narrow, narrow, at the cute,*
*And braid, braid, at the brawn.*

" *Your gloves sall be the Marigold*
*All glittering to your hand;*
*Weel spread owre wi' blue Blaewart*
*That grows in the corn-land.*"

— " Old Scotch Ballad."

# CHAPTER XXV

## BRIDAL DRESS

THERE existed in colony, province, and state, certainly for over two hundred years, a simple, neighborly, homely custom known as "Coming out Bride." In New England and in the central provinces, and in the South wherever the segregated plantation life made it possible, on the first Sunday after a wedding and usually for the four Sundays of the honeymoon month, bride and groom, whether old or young, gentle or simple, went to the church services dressed with as much pretty, and distinctly bridal, finery as was their good hap to possess. The bride might, if a fortunate sister, be able to wear a new gown each of the four Sundays. Judge Sewall writes with frank pride in his diary, after his daughter made what was deemed a very good match, that bride and groom and the bride's parents and the bridal attendants all walked together on the Sabbath morn through narrow Boston streets, a proud, happy, and pious little procession, to the Old South Meeting-house. I should have loved to see the bridal party when his granddaughter, Mary Hirst, was married to Sir William Pepperell; she would wear, of course, the great hoop which was one

of the groom's bridal gifts, given with a splendid ring, just as to-day a groom would give a string of pearls with a ring. I should love to see her with her vast swaying hoop and brocade, happy and smiling in her close cap and little hat, with the groom in his rich flowered-velvet suit, and the old judge sombre in black satin, and his third wife in her "striped Persian," walking proudly behind them. Carlyle amused himself with the fancy that he would like to have a clear vision of all the suits of clothes he ever had worn. I am sure I shouldn't. Many of mine I barely tolerated in life, and I should abhor them in a vision. I can think of nothing more depressing than to have them recalled when I thought myself well rid of them, — even of the memory of them. And the fact that I should find many of them with full evidence of having been very little worn would not make them any more cheerful.

Wedding Gown of Mary Leverett. 1719.

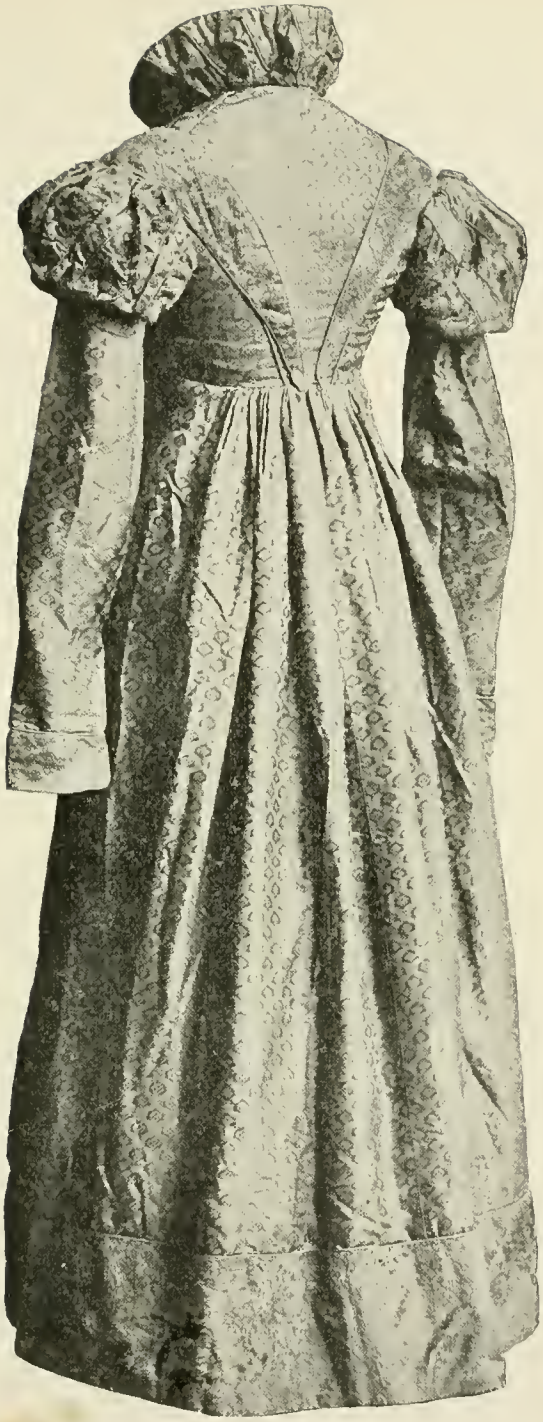
But I should like to have a clear vision of the attire of all who have "come out bride" in the Old South Church in Boston. The first maid-servants of Winthrop, godly young women "help," the children of his old English neighbors, were speedily married in the New World, where bachelors were

Bridegroom's Hat and Bride's Bonnet of Pink Silk Plush.

not only most forlorn but most restricted and most despised. From their simple substantial dress down to the satin gown and point-lace veil of the fashionable wedding of later years — what a Cyclopædia of Costume!

The decorous little procession arm in arm to the meeting-house was not all of the harmless and happy little Sunday show. In many country communities the bride and groom were not placed in the seats rigidly

assigned to them, which might be of no great distinction or prominence, but, in that dignity which ever haloes the newly-married, were seated side by side in the most prominent place in the house. This might be in the front row in the gallery, or perhaps in the front seat of the body of the house. They usually arrived a bit late, in order to have their full meed of attention; and proceeded slowly arm in arm down the broad aisle to seats of honor, in the hushed attention of the entire congregation. One bride, a hundred years ago, attired in fawn-colored watered silk walked by her proud husband in what was then the newest fashion — trousers; and his were made from the same piece of fawn-colored silk, and his silken left leg rustled well against her fluttering silken petticoats. At a certain point in the services, usually after the singing of the second hymn, the happy couple, in agonies of shyness and pride, rose to their feet, and turned slowly twice or thrice around before the eyes of the whole delighted assembly, thus displaying to the full every detail of their attire. In the diary of a young Medford girl she tells of her sister's determination not to marry in April lest April showers spoil her "coming out bride." She therefore waited till the last Sunday in May, and had such a violent thunder-storm that she could not go to church at all. The splendid yellow brocade gown shown on page 632 was worn to church by Mary Leverett after her marriage in 1719. Here are also parts of the dress worn by young Salem folk as they came out bride in the year 1810. Her bonnet was of pink shirred plush,



Pink Silk and Plush Wedding Coat.

his hat is of the same plush. (See page 633.) The accompanying coat (see facing page 634) is the groom's, of pink figured silk trimmed with pink plush, and the groom's waistcoat was of the same material.

In the diary of a young girl, Betsey Heath, kept in Brookline in 1783, she tells of her sister's marriage on Thursday. "The Bride was drest in a Lilock colour'd Lutestring gownd and coat." On Sunday she "came out Bride drest in strip'd Lutestring Negligie, three white waving plooms in her hat; wore her new short Polanees flounced and trim'd with Blue."

William Livingstone, in his *Philosophic Solitude*, 1747, gives proof that the stage for the display of fine clothes was the church, in such lines as these: —

> "Polly avers that Sylvia dressed in green
> When last at church the gaudy nymph was seen.
> Chloe condemns her optics, and will lay
> 'Twas azure satin, interstreak'd with gray.
> Lucy invested with judicial power
> Awards 'twas neither — and the strife is o'er.
> At length equipped in Love's enticing arms,
> With all that glitters and all that charms
> The ideal goddesses to church repair
> Peep through a fan, or mutter o'er a prayer;
> Or deeply studied in coquettish rules
> Aim wily glances at unthinking fools."

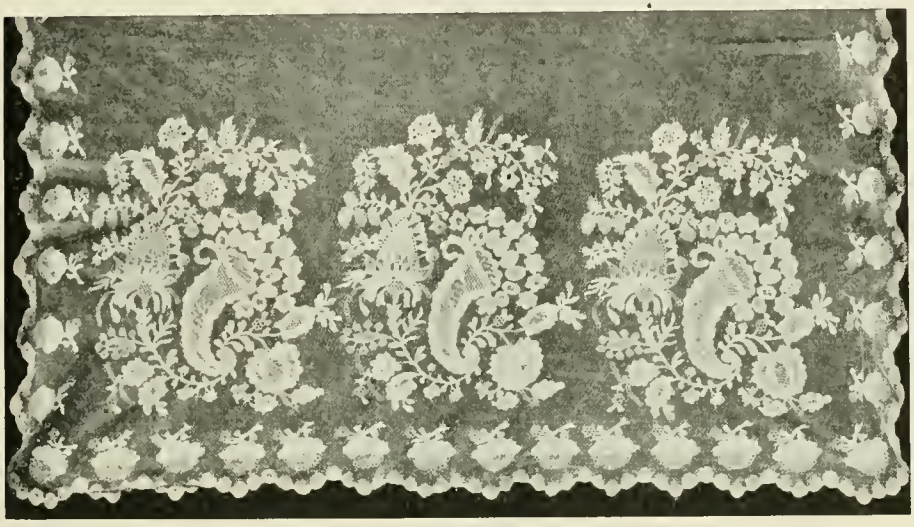
The wily Abbé Robin, a close observer, wrote just after the Revolution: "Piety is not the only motive which induces American women to be constant in their attendance at church. Having no places of public amusement, no fashionable promenades, they

Wedding Gown of Mrs. John Sparhawk. 1736.

go to church to display their fine dress. They often appear there clothed in silks, and covered with superb ornaments."

There was much formality in the dress worn by those coming out brides, even at a later day. One of my kinswomen was married when seventeen to a young husband who died in a few weeks. After more than ten years of widowhood, but still young, she married a second time. She wore "coming out bride" a silver gray satin gown, and a gray pelisse of uncut velvet with a silken stripe; this was lined with cherry-colored satin and trimmed with marabout plumes. Her bonnet was of shirred gray velvet with natural gray feathers and cherry-colored face trimmings of very full ruches of ribbon loops. This seems to me a charming costume, but she was exceedingly unhappy because,

having been a widow, she could not in etiquette appear in a white bonnet and feathers and veil. And she felt that coming a stranger to her new home it was so unfortunate to appear in a gray bonnet; that it made her seem like an old woman, and was "so conspicuous."

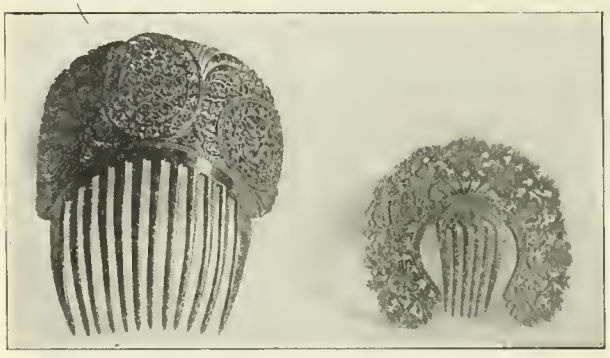


White Lace Wedding Veil. 1810.

No special color was chosen for a bride's dress, as white is worn to-day. The bride wore the most costly gown she could afford, and often that the market could supply. The favored silk for many years was a thick brocade such as is shown on page 636. This was worn by Mrs. Sparhawk, of Salem, Massachusetts, both at her wedding and to church services the succeeding Sunday. This dress is a rich white silk, brocaded — to use Dante's words — "in flowers of noble colours." It is reproduced in the end-papers of this book.

This splendid dress might well be the one ordered from England by Sir William Pepperell for his daughter to wear upon her marriage to Nathaniel Sparhawk. It was, in his words, "*Silk* to make a woman a full suit of Clothes; the Ground to be white *Padusoy* and flowered with all sorts of Coulers suitable for a young woman."

He also ordered for her wedding outfit another gown of "white watered *Tabby*, with *Gold Lace* for trimming of it; twelve yards of Green Padusoy; thirteen yards of Lace for a woman's Head Dress 2 inches wide as can be bought for 13 shillings a yard." As its purchasing power would be to-day, this sum for lace was equal to about £40. Other bridal finery was a handsome fan mounted in leather for twenty shillings; two pair silk shoes, with clogs a size bigger than the shoes.



Bridal Hair Combs. 1820.

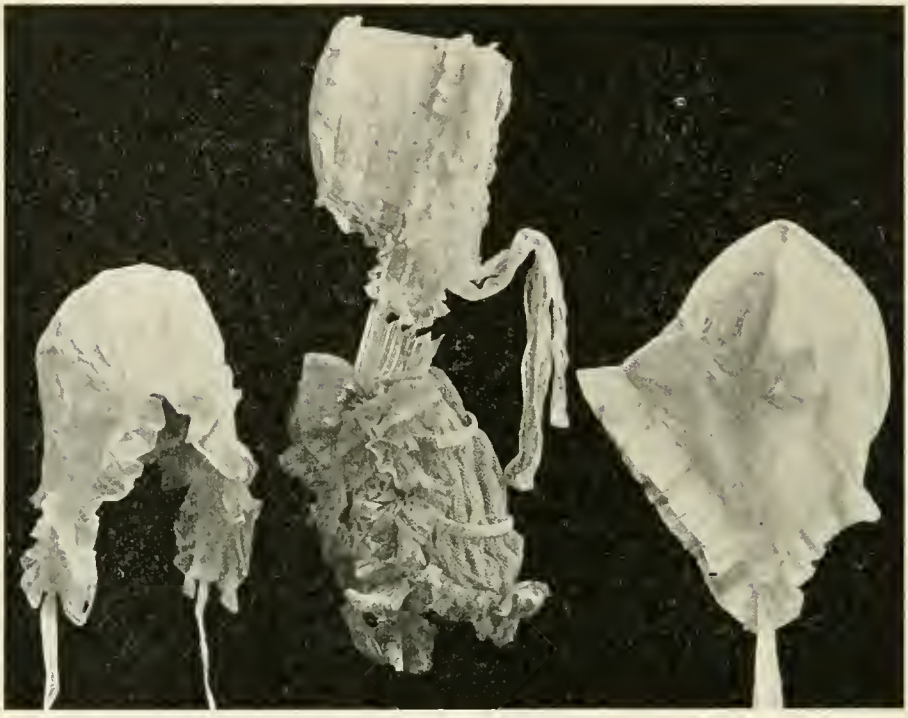
A piece of the yellow brocade wedding-gown of Cornelia de Peyster is shown on page 375. The gown itself has eight straight breadths in the skirt, and it measures four and three-quarter yards around the bottom. The waist has one square tab below the waist-line in front. There is an open space left from neck to waist-line for a lace tucker and stoma-

cher. The back is cut a low, square neck. The back is laid in plaits, stitched perfectly flat and very closely down to the waist-line; there it is left loose in princess shape all in one piece, making the back breadths of skirt very full at back. The dress has never been altered. The sleeves are plain, elbow length, with a small turned-back cuff. At bottom of each sleeve there is sewn in a round piece of lead (covered with linen) the size of a half-dollar, for a weight, to keep the sleeves hanging down straight. The sleeves had lace ruffles or engageants at elbow.

The earliest wedding-veil and all-white bridal gown, made distinctly for a wedding-dress, which I have known was worn by Mrs. James H. Heyward, of Charleston, South Carolina. She was Decima Cecilia Shubrich, a lovely creature, married at nineteen. Her portrait was painted by Malbone, who was in Charleston in the year 1800. She wears a tulle wedding-veil placed on the head as would be a similar bridal veil to-day. Also a splendid tiara of pearls, and ear-rings of pear-shaped pearls. These rich jewels were sent her from England by her godmother, Mrs. Rutledge, as a wedding-gift.

These pearls were rivalled by those of another Charleston bride, whose marriage is thus written about by that lovely young creature, Eliza Southgate Bowne. This was in 1804, in New York: —

"Miss Pell was married last week to Robert MacComb; they are making a prodigious dash. I went to pay the bride's visit on Friday; they had an elegant ball and supper in the



Three Nightcaps and Dress Cap of a Salem Bride.

evening, as it was the last day of seeing Company; 7 bride's-maids and 7 Bride-men, most superb dresses; the bride's pearls cost 1,500 dollars; they spend the winter in Charleston."

The "seeing company" took the place of our present wedding-tour. Every one who knew bride, or groom, or their parents, called upon the bride. Sometimes she received one day, and her husband had men callers the next day. At other times ladies and gentlemen visited her in one parlor, then went to another room and drank to and with the groom, who, as one chronicler said, generally got "reasonably pleasant."

Anna Green Winslow writes in her diary in Boston, in 1771: "On the 6. Mr. Sam Jarvis married Miss Suky Pierce; on the 11 I made her a visit in company with Mamma and many others. The bride was dress'd in a white Sattin night-gownd."

Wedding Dress. 1818.

I have turned to the illustrations of old books thinking I might learn therefrom when brides began to be pictured with wedding-veils. The earliest veil I have found is in a little book of crude rhymes entitled *The Courtship and Marriage of Jerry and Kitty*, London, 1814. In this the bride wears a bridal veil over her hair and face, hanging to the hem of her gown. Further evidence of later date is in *The Dandy's Wedding*, London, 1823. In this the bride wears a veil hanging from her comb over her face, and the accompanying verse reads:—

"The handsome veil of Mechlin lace
A sister's love bestows.
It adds new beauties to her face
Which now with pleasure glows.
Friends, brothers, sisters, cousins, meet
To attend the happy bride;
And Queer's joy is all complete,
The nuptial knot is tied."

I should add, however, that I have found at least a hundred pictures of brides of these dates without veils. The earliest fashion-plate I have found with a conventional white wedding-dress is given on page 641. It appeared in 1818. It has no wedding veil.

I know not at what date orange blossoms became closely associated with bridal attire. In 1848 Thackeray wrote in *Vanity Fair*: —

"Had orange blossoms been invented then (those touching emblems of female purity imported by us from France) Miss Maria would have assumed that spotless wreath."

I cannot find when orange blossoms "were imported from France"; but it would seem as if English brides had worn them before *Vanity Fair* was written. T. Haynes Bayly, who died in 1839, wrote a song which was popular in the early thirties, entitled, *She Wore a Wreath of Roses*. The second stanza of this begins: —

"A wreath of orange blossoms
When next we met she wore,"

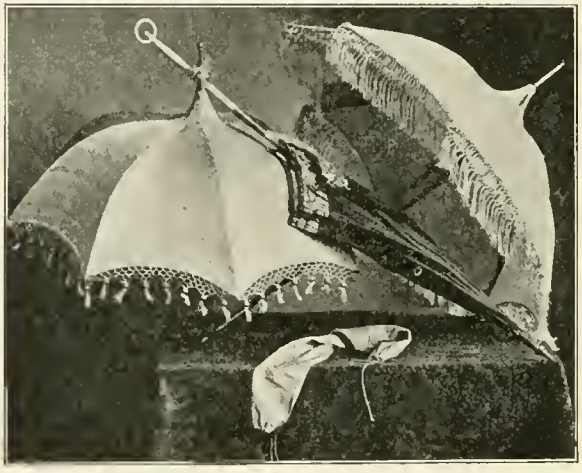
and goes on with references to the orange blossoms on her brow in a way implying that the custom of wearing them was well known.

A list of wedding shopping is preserved in a tiny satin-covered book at "Little Rest," Kingston, Rhode Island. Madam Randolph was married July 4, 1802, at Newport. Her husband, a young Virginia planter, came North with his own carriage and horses; and after the wedding returned to their plantation on the James River, Virginia, driving all the way from Newport. This was some of her wedding finery: —

| | |
|---|---|
| "Necklace & Case | $52. |
| 8 yds. muslin 14/ per yd. | 20. |
| 5½ yds. lace 5 dolls. per yd | 27. |
| 5¾ yds dimity a 5/ per yd | 4.9 |
| 1 doz Stockings a 9/ | 18. |
| 4 yds of Calico a 5/6 | 4. |
| Dressing Case & Comb | 3. |
| Piece of Linen | 25. |
| 3 yds of Cambric | 7. |
| Piece of Cambric | 22. |
| 6 yds of muslin | 20. |
| 4½ yds. of figured cambric | 5.1 |
| 5 prs stockings at 8/ | 5.1 |
| 4 yds of Dimity | 9.4 |
| 9 yds of Cambric | 2.4 |
| Money sent to Antwerp | 150. |
| Ditto for Furniture making | 150. |
| Money carried to Boston | 110. |
| 26 yds of Diaper at 3/6 | 15. |
| 5 yds of ditto a 2/ | 2. |
| Tea set of China | 15. |
| Dinner set ditto | 69. |
| Tea trays | 7. |
| Bill of Geoffroy | 100." |

The last $100 was for silver, as Geoffroy was an old silversmith, and there are spoons still in the family with his mark. This bride also received from her father (he gave the same to his six daughters) a full set of Canton china, of which a few pieces, such as water-plates, deep dishes, pitchers, etc., still remain.

It will be noted that not a yard of silk was bought. Dimity, organdy, lawn, linen, are the material of the gowns. The $150 sent to Antwerp was probably for Flemish lace, which was so fashionable.



Bridal Parasols. 1810.

In 1817, in November, a gallant commodore was married; General Scott and Captain Kearney were two of the groomsmen. The bride wore white Canton crape; and her travelling dress, in which she drove off to the station at Sackett's Harbor, was a dark blue habit trimmed with three rows of frogs on the front; a black Leghorn hat with black satin bows and three great ostrich feathers. These habits were a close-fitting, short-waisted garment, which were soon used as a walking dress as well as a habit. This bride's pretty wardrobe was wholly of Canton crape and India mulls, not a silk gown among them all.

Mrs. Gummere gives a beautiful picture of Quaker bridal attire: —

"In the month of May, 1771, Isaac Collins, of Burlington, N. J., married Rachel Budd, of Philadelphia, at the 'Bank Meeting,' in that city. His wedding dress was a coat of peach blossom cloth, the great skirts of which had outside pockets; it was lined throughout with quilted white silk. The large waistcoat was of the same material. He wore small clothes, knee buckles, silk stockings and pumps — a cocked hat surmounted the whole. The bride, who is described as 'lovely in mind and person,' wore a light blue brocade, shoes of the same material, with very high heels — not larger at the sole than a gold dollar — and sharply pointed at the toes. Her dress was in the fashion of the day, consisting of a robe, long in the back, with a large hoop. A short blue bodice with a white satin stomacher embroidered in colors, had a blue cord laced from side to side. On her head she wore a black mode hood lined with white silk, the large cape extending over the shoulders. Upon her return from meeting after the ceremony, she put on a thin white apron of ample dimensions, tied in front with a large blue bow."

This gay-colored raiment will surprise all who know not the true history of Quakerism and Quaker costume. The black hood is a curious detail of this bridal garb; it appears to confirm what is told by Watson and other annalists, that in the eighteenth century a certain black silk hood was worn always by a Pennsylvania bride. It was deemed as much a part of the wedding outfit as a lace veil is to-day. It seems to have been originally a German fashion.

# CHAPTER XXVI

## MOURNING ATTIRE

"*Ask not why hearts turn magazines of passions,*
*And why that grief is clad in several fashions,*
*Why she on progress goes, and does not borrow*
*The smallest respite from extremes of sorrow;*
*Her comfort is — if any for her be,*
*That none can show more cause of grief than she.*
*Ask not why some in mournful black are clad;*
*The sun is set; there needs must be a shade.*"

— "Dirge for the Tenth Muse, Anne Bradstreet," Rev. John Norton, 1678.

# CHAPTER XXVI

## MOURNING ATTIRE

BLACK, the emblem of Death, was in early times the ordinary mourning color in Europe. Froissart refers distinctly to the custom of placing a whole family in mourning when he tells that the Count de Foix clothed his whole family in black at the death of his son Gaston. Chaucer in 1379 wrote —

"Cresyde was in widowe's black,"

showing there was then a distinct widow's dress. We find often that at the death of persons of dignity and note in that century, persons and houses were dressed in black, and persons who attended the funeral were furnished mourning, which they were given to carry home with them.

Testimony has been gathered to show that mourning wear was not necessarily black; but ample lines from Shakespere give proof to the contrary: —

"'Tis not my inky cloak alone, good mother,
Nor customary suit of solemn black,
. . . The trappings and the suits of woe."

These lines would clearly indicate that black was English mourning in Shakespere's day — the "cus-

tomary suit." Strutt says that Henry VIII wore white for mourning after he beheaded Anne Boleyn; scarlet would have been more appropriate.

We have seen in our own day a vast change in the customs of mourning wear. Thirty years ago heavy crape was donned for every relative; thick crape veils were worn in periods of several years. Often after the death of a cousin or uncle or aunt, unrelieved black would be worn for two or three years. Now, little crape is seen on gowns; in nearly all cases a "nun's veiling" veil has replaced the crape, and in many cases the veil is not assumed at all where formerly it would have been worn for years. The wearing of mourning in colonial times was a part of that sentiment, that regard of friends and neighbors, which was so strong in those days. We find Judge Sewall putting a black ribbon on his cane because a friend had recently died; we see him donning his "mourning rapier." We read of others putting on mourning-rings at the anniversary of the death of a friend.

When Lady Andros, the wife of the governor, died in Boston in 1690, six "mourning-women" sat in front of the pulpit, and the hearse was drawn by six black horses with scutcheons on their sides and death's heads on their foreheads. They must have been absurd! Scutcheons were placed around the room; hatchments were hung in front of the house. But four of these old hatchments are known to be now in existence in America. One hung in Christ Church in Philadelphia and may be there still; one is of the Izard family in Charleston,

South Carolina; another in Kentucky; the fourth, the Browne hatchment, still is owned by one of the family residing in Massachusetts.

Ribbon, "corle," or caul, crape, white linen in varying amounts were given to mourners. Cyprus, a kind of crape, and "hood mourning" were ordered from England for funeral purposes, in large amount.

The funeral expenses of a Baltimore citizen in the eighteenth century included these items: —

Coffin . . . £6.10s.
41 Yards Black Crape.
32 Yards Black Tiffany.
11 Yards Black Crape.
5½ Yards Black Broadcloth.
7½ Yards Black Shalloon.
8½ Yards Black Callamanco.
16½ Yards Linen.
3 Yards Shirting.
3 Dozen Pairs men's black Silk Gloves.
2 Dozen Pairs Women's black Silk Gloves.
6 Pair Men's cheaper black Gloves.
6 Pair Women's cheaper black Gloves.
Black Silk Handkerchiefs.
Mohair Buckram.
13 Yards Black Ribbon.
47 Lbs. Loaf Sugar.
14 Dozen Eggs.
Ten ounces Nutmegs.
1½ Lb. Allspice.
21 Gallons White Wine.
12 Gallons Red Wine.
10 Gallons Rum.
Coffin Furniture.

Not only the dress of the sorrowing ones, but the household surroundings, were made deeply black. Mirrors and pictures were covered with cloth. The window shutters were slightly bowed and tied together with black, and were left thus for months. In England was still deeper gloom.

Throughout the *Verney Memoirs* there looms up

a black bed, which all adown the centuries goes like a Car of Juggernaut from house to house, killing all cheerfulness in its route. It figured in all the family bereavements, and was lent (and with alacrity, I suspect) to friends in affliction. In those days of speedy remarriage, it proved not always a welcome

Duchess of Cleveland in Widow's Weeds.

sojourner. For instance, on the death of Lord Sussex, Ralph Verney at once despatched "our black bed" to his widow; and no doubt she solemnly enjoyed its gloomy pomp and elegance of grief for a few weeks. But she speedily found another old earl for her third husband; and when writing to announce her approaching marriage she says: "The Black Bed and Hanginges your aunt never sent for.

If you would have me deliver them anywhere I will, or keep them — whichever you desier I will do." The Black Bed was not always welcome to mourners. One young widow was made so ill by its trying gloom that her sister apologized for drawing a white coverlet over her, and over the black silken sheets.

Carriages of course were hung in black, and black liveries were worn. Even saddles and pillions were covered with black. Ralph Verney did not have the use of his own "Black Bed," for he was on the continent when he was bereft of his wife — his bright "Mischiefe," his gentle, laughing, brave, loyal Mary, whose nature, so sunny, so sweet, so endearing, is fully revealed in her own and her husband's letters. No wonder that by her death her husband's life was wholly shattered. Being methodical and conventional even in grief he ordered due mourning — this not only in garments for outer wear but "black taffety Night-cloathes, with black Night-capps, and black Comb and Brush, and two black Sweet-bags to it and slippers of black velvet; and a black needle-case with a great gold bodkin, blew thred, shirt buttons, cap-strings and tapes." One wonders that

Lady Russel in Widow's Dress.

the thread was not also black. It tells his sincerity of grief to know that he never married again; this at a time when all men remarried. And yet his marriage to this wife had been almost a matter of sale and purchase. She was a ward in chancery, and was disposed of to him to good advantage when she was but thirteen years old.

An inky picture is that of old Lady Bute sitting up in her "black bed," the room lighted but by one taper, while her grandchildren stood in silence at the foot of the bed, and all the acquaintances, friends, servants, tenants, passed through the room a continuous procession, speaking not a word, but by their presence showing complimentary condolence on the death of Lord Bute.

The funeral usually took place at night; and the rank and station of the deceased was known and marked by the flambeaux. At the funeral even the soles of the shoes were sombrely blackened. Mourning lasted for a wearisome time. As it was assumed even for remote relatives one might readily pass all his days in mourning. Often it was worn for life. We know the unkempt-looking, almost "seedy" portrait of Sir Kenelm Digby after the death of his fair wife, Venetia. He wears his own plain hair and an ill-shapen beard, a suit of black cloth, a black cloak, and a black slouch hat. This dress he never changed.

Mourning dress was not always a great expense to the wearer, for it was supplied liberally by the family or through the will of the deceased person. Often several hundred pounds' worth of black garments

would be given to friends, servants, clergymen, doctors. Black gloves were sent broadcast to friends, "None of 'em of any figure but what had gloves sent to 'em." At the funeral of the wife of Governor Belcher in Boston, in 1736, over a thousand pairs of gloves were given away. At the funeral of Andrew Faneuil in Boston three thousand pairs were distributed; often several hundred would be given.

Mrs. Stephen Sewall in Widow's Weeds. 1726.

By Liberty Days, in 1769, mourning-gloves showed the influences of the times, and were made in America of American materials, and it was proposed that they be stamped with a suggestive design such as the Liberty Tree.

Mourning-rings were a great expense likewise; two hundred gold rings were given at one Boston funeral in 1738; these rings cost over a pound each. These rings bore sombre mottoes, such as: —

"Prepared be
To follow me."

"Death parts
United hearts."

Mourning-jewelry was popular, especially when made of the hair of the lost friend, or put in locket

form to hold the hair. Often the hair was mounted with a miniature or with a mourning-design.

There is shown on page 657 a locket and a pair of bracelet clasps done in what is known as hair-painting. I have examined these hair-paintings with a microscope, but I cannot find any proof of the tradition which accompanies them that they were painted with human hair ground into a powder and mixed with the sepia color. I have been shown a score of such articles, all with the same tradition. One bracelet had a letter accompanying it telling the name of the person whose hair had been thus introduced. An associated tradition is that "the art is lost." An ancient lady told me what seemed much more probable; that they were painted with a paint-brush made of human hair. However they may be made, they form a pretty trinket, of a decoration common at that day on china, where it was called by various names, such as "black-line china," "India-ink china," "pencilled china," etc.

Human hair was also woven in many intricate plaitings into rings, bracelets, brooches, watch-guards, etc. Sometimes a bracelet would contain the hair of a score of persons, members of one family. Other times a design in basket-work was woven of human hair into a flat disk and then framed with gold and pearls. This was usually a memorial jewel. A lock of hair was a favorite gift of affection, and the slightest bit of hair from the head of some distinguished person, as Washington, would be richly framed in a locket and proudly worn.

It would be difficult to fix the exact date when a

band or armlet of black around the upper sleeve became an emblem of mourning. We have seen a black scarf thus worn in the time of James I. In a

"Hair-painted" Jewelry.

play dated 1826, written by E. Lebrun, a knavish notary, a widower, described as in mourning, is pictured in a colored lithograph in a brown coat, blue knee-breeches, white waistcoat and tie, with a flat,

black band on the right arm as the only symbol of mourning. I know no earlier example.

When Mrs. John Morgan died in Philadelphia a hundred years ago, she had women pall-bearers; and Sarah Eve recounts a similar sad service which she rendered, dressed in white, with a white veil.

Catilina de Peyster's funeral was held to be specially solemn since six of her young girl friends, dressed in white gowns, with hair powdered and tied with white ribbon, served as pall-bearers. The coffin and pall were both white. The funeral was held in Trinity Church, New York, and the following Sunday these young maids sat in a pew near the parents of the dead girl while the clergyman preached the funeral sermon. Within two or three years we have seen another group of women serve as pall-bearers at a funeral in Trinity Church.

Several of the early illustrations in this book show widows' weeds; Lady Mary Armine, Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Beekman, wear widows' caps and dominoes.

Though the following definition of the word *domino* is not given in the *Century Dictionary*, there is ample evidence that the black veil or hood which was thrown over the white cap or coif as a mourning veil by widows, was called a domino. Cotgrave says a domino is "a kind of hood or habit for the head worn by canons, and hence also a fashion of a veil worn by some women that mourn." The *Ladies' Dictionary*, 1694, also defines *domino* as a woman's mourning veil.

Heavy black veils were always worn by widows, no matter what their age — and there were some

very youthful ones. One of the most charming pictures of King Charles shows him with Mary Villiers, the daughter of the Duke of Buckingham; her portrait is on page 126. At her father's sudden and appalling death this daughter and her brother and sister were taken by the king as his wards. "Pretty sweet Moll" was married in childhood to the young son of the Earl of Montgomery and Pembroke, and was by his death left a widow at nine years of age. Not at all quieted by her widow's weeds, she romped and played with her companions, and one day climbed a tree in the palace garden to gather fruit. The king, walking with his gentleman in waiting, Mr. Endymion Porter, spied the black veil fluttering in the branches, and called out that there was a strange bird in the tree; for Mr. Porter to fetch his gun and bring it down. So Mr. Porter went under the tree, only to be pelted with fruit. He called up, "What shall I do? I am to kill you and bring your feathers to the King." "Be as good as your word," cried down to him the happy young widow. So a fruit-hamper was brought, and Mr. Porter shut down the cover, and with the gardener carried her to the king. "Here," said Mr. Porter, "is the bird, which I have had the good fortune to catch alive." And out sprang "pretty Moll," and threw her arms round the king's neck with no more ceremony than if he had been a playmate of her own age. Such anecdotes as this make us know why the king was loved.

# CHAPTER XXVII

## FASHION DOLLS AND FASHION-PLATES

"*Frontenac tells me that you desire patterns of our fashions in dress. I send you therefore some model dolls.*"

— "Henry IV of France to Marie de Medicis," 1600.

"*To be seen at Mrs. Hannah Teatt's, Mantua Maker at the Head of Summer Street, Boston, a baby drest after the newest Fashion of Mantuas and Nightgowns & everything belonging to a Dress. Latilly arrived on Captain White from London. Any Ladies that desire to see it may either come or send, she will be ready to wait on 'em; if they come to the House it is Two Shilling & if she waits on 'em it is Seven Shilling.*"

— "New England Weekly Journal," July 2, 1733.

# CHAPTER XXVII

## FASHION DOLLS AND FASHION-PLATES

TWO existences as widely remote as the spread of the vast world seem those of great Henry and humble Hannah Teatts; yet their lives swing on closely together in a common circle when there comes to them a very simple force, a dressed doll baby showing the fashions of the day.

These "babies" were no novelty even in Henry's time. Similar ones had been shown in Venice at the annual fair upon Ascension Day for many centuries; and in France at an equally early date. Indeed, it is asserted that in the list of royal expenses for the year 1391, in France, are so many livres for such and such a doll sent to the queen of England. A hundred years later another was sent to the queen of Spain, and at the close of another century one to the duchess of Bavaria. Thus early had France led in the fashions. In those centuries what scores, what hundreds of these little puppets had been sent on their pleasant journey. A happy existence they had; garbed in all the daintiest and prettiest of garments, complacent with the fact of being leaders and arbiters in their orbit of life, free from care, from hunger, from want,

from pain; sent forth with loving attention, welcomed with an eagerness which never varied or waned; handled gently; cherished religiously; the companion of the young, the beautiful, the rich, the gay; truly a life to be envied had the fashion baby of past centuries.

The custom of dressing these dolls originated in the salons of the Hotel Rambouillet, where one, called *la grande Pandore*, was exhibited in full dress at each change of the modes. *La petite Pandore* was in the "politest undress." In 1764 similar dolls had been made the shape and size of a full-grown human being, and were landed at Dover dressed in richest laces. When English ports were closed in war times, they were open to an alabaster doll four feet high called the *Grand Courrier de la Mode*. In the war of the First Empire this privilege was not given; and from that time "English women deprived of French aid for a whole generation began to dress badly. Pitt has much to answer for." These are not my words but those of an English woman, Mrs. Bury Palliser.

Doll dressed like Mrs. Bowditch. 1770.

Similar puppets were also employed by hair-

dressers. The notorious hair-dresser Legros had exhibitions of dolls coiffed in his latest dreams in hair-dressing, in forty varied styles. English milliners also dressed these dolls. In 1727 one was sent around among the Ladies of the Bedchamber in Queen Caroline's day. It was "a little young Lady dressed in the Court dress," and when all had studied it, Mrs. Tempest, the court milliner, was to have it to keep.

The fashions were at one time borne from place to place by an amusing toy which was in every one's hand. In a letter of the day, we read: —

"Pantins, pasteboard figures moved by strings were in 1748 in every lady's hand in France and England, and used in caricatures in France."

Churchill called it a pantine; others a pantini; but under any spelling it is not found in our dictionaries. W. T. Cooke says: —

"A Pantini was a figure made of pasteboard in imitation of the human form; by the least touch of the finger it might be thrown into a variety of antic and ridiculous postures; it was in high vogue among the beau-monde and deemed a most diverting plaything for gentlemen as well as ladies. Madamoselle Pantine, one of Marshall Saxe's mistresses, was the ingenious inventor from whom it received its name."

I have found a number of advertisements of fashion babies in American newspapers. In New York newspapers in 1757 two modish mantua-makers were announced for some weeks as "just arrived

from the kingdom of Ireland," as are nine-tenths of the fashionable "Madames" of the gown-making world to-day. These two Irish mantua-makers announced that they "have furnished themselves from London in patterns of the following kinds of wear for Ladies and Gentlemen, and have fixed a correspondence to have from thence the earliest fashions in miniature." These fashions in miniature were doll babies.

French Fashion Baby.

American women setting out for England were implored "to send back babies"; letters of request for them were constantly being despatched.

Sally McKean wrote to the sister of Dolly Madison in June, 1796, "I went yesterday to see a doll which has come from England, dressed to show the fashions." And even her Quaker neighbors in Philadelphia had their babies. We fancy so little change in Quaker dress that "new fashions" were never known; but it is plain that Vanity can lurk in the plait of a Quaker bonnet or in the flap of a Quaker coat. Why, even the pinning of a Quaker shawl has its rules and modes. Mrs. Gummere tells of two "babies" dressed in the exact miniature of Quaker dress. In Independence Hall in Philadelphia is "Patty Rutter," a doll dressed by Sarah Rutter in 1782, and sent to Mrs. Samuel

Adams of Massachusetts. This doll has a complete little equipage by her side, with watch, pencil, etc.

At the time of the French Revolution Stephen Grellet, a French gentleman of birth, took refuge in America and became a Quaker. In 1816 he returned to England, and was there given a perfectly dressed baby in Quaker garb which he was to take to France to a struggling little community which was trying to become a Quaker settlement. The visit was not made, for Grellet returned suddenly to America, where the doll, which he had wholly forgotten, was found in his trunk. He wrote to the English baby-maker, asking how he should dispose of the doll; and the answer came, "Give her to thy little daughter." The little daughter lived till 1901, to be ninety years old, and always preserved her doll Rachel.

Two Empire Fashion Babies.

These dolls were called "little ladies," and "babies," but not dolls until the middle of the eighteenth century. The old Danish name for maid-servant was daul; it also meant a doll.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, September,

1751, is an early example of the word: "Several dolls with different dresses made in St. James Street have been sent to the Czarina to show the manner of dressing at present in fashion among English ladies."

The finest ones came from the Netherlands; they were called "Flanders babies." To the busy fingers of Dutch children, English and American children owed many of these dolls. It was a rhymed reproach to the latter that —

"What the children of Holland take pleasure in making
The children of England take pleasure in breaking."

Fashions changed, and the modish raiment grew antiquated and despised, but still the "Flanders babies" had a cherished old age. They were graduated from milliners' boxes and mantua-makers' showrooms to nurseries and playrooms, where they reigned as queens of juvenile hearts. There are old ladies still living who recall the dolls of their youth as having been the battered fashion dolls sent to their mammas.

The fact that these fashion babies generally closed their days as the beloved play-child of real children did not add to their longevity. And in one case known to me intimately, a fashion baby which had successfully eluded the destroying hands of one generation perished in the loving clasp of a grandchild to whom nothing could be denied. Mrs. Vanderbilt, in her charming memories of her childhood in Flatbush, Long Island, gives a like instance. Old letters written by Americans abound in allusions

to these babies. I have found at least a score of such references. Here is a part of a letter written by the vivacious Jewess Rebecca Franks from New York just before its evacuation by the British: —

"I shall send a pattern of the newest bonnets: there is no crown, but gauze is raised on wire, and pinched to a sugar loaf at the top — the lighter the trimming the more fashionable — and all quilling. Nancy Van Horne and myself employed yesterday morning in trying to dress a rag baby in the fashion, but could not succeed; it shall go, however, as it will in some degree give you an opinion on the subject."

In 1797, a young Norwich girl, Rachel Huntington, wrote thus to her sister Lucy from New York: —

"I send a doll by Brother George, which I intended to have dressed in a neater manner but really could not find time — it, however, has rather a fashionable appearance, the cap is made in a good form but you would make one much handsomer than I could, the beau to Miss *Dollys* poultice neck cloth is rather large but the thickness is very moderate, — there is a large pattern for two train gowns of the muslin, which should be made three breadths wide two breadths to reach to the shoulder straps forward, & one breadth to be cut part of the way down before, to go over the shoulder & part of it to be pleated on to the shoulder straps, meeting the back breadths, & some of it to go around the neck, like the *doll's*."

A truly unique mode of transporting fashions was by what may be called paper dolls; cut-paper figures. It is so simple, so clever, and so correct a means

that I wonder it was not frequently employed. I know of but one instance where it was done, and the name of both sender and receiver are wholly lost. The little fashionable cut-paper figures, how-

Cut Paper Pattern.

ever, exist; they are preserved in a shallow box, with the written words of explanation of each detail of dress that originally accompanied them. Our grandmothers were so skilful in this cut-paper work that it was natural they should employ it in sending

fashions. The art was called papyrotamia; teachers of it advertised in newspapers, and *Ackerman's Repository*, a fashion magazine of the early years of the nineteenth century, published copies on "Bath post" of landscapes and many fanciful designs for cut-paper work. A part of one of these patterns is here given (page 670). It can be seen that fine lace could be readily represented. The whole of the black work was laboriously cut away with finest scissors, knives, and pins, and the white figure was then mounted on colored paper.

Pin-pricked pictures were another accomplishment. Pins of different sizes were used. A little toothed wheel was employed for outlines. In opening recently a handsome book of copperplate engravings of the year 1815 of the Keepsake family, I found one of the very fashionably dressed London beauties entirely outlined, — and her garments pricked out also with tiny pin pricks. I feel sure the copy thus pricked had been sent somewhere as a fashion-plate, and warmly welcomed.

Had we no books of the modes, no magazines of fashions, and indeed no portraits, our descendants would know well what we wore to-day from the descriptions in our modern novels. But we have few detailed accounts of costumes in early English novels, and I know of no English fashion magazines prior to 1799, when the *Ladies' Monthly Museum* appeared. In America our well-beloved *Graham's Magazine* and *Godey's Lady's Book* were the earliest comers. Angels of the household we might well term them when we think of the gratification,

the satisfaction, the diversion, the instruction, the occupation they brought for so many years to so many families, to so many eager women. What innocent amusement, what harmless entertainment, what varied employment came from the closely printed pages! There was never a word of evil, a suggestion of wrong, in any of these pages, and among all the flat tales and silly poems and vapid sketches were some gems of literature; and it is agreeable to know that these gems were promptly recognized by the entire community, though they appeared in the same settings as the paste jewels. We should not be satisfied nowadays with *Godey's Lady's Book* of 1840, nor would our grandmothers in 1840 have been satisfied with *The World's Work*, or *Success*, or the *Century Magazine*.

I have used few fashion-plates in this book, and only for the last twenty years of my history. I can say of these illustrations, in the words of Paul La Croix, the historian of institutions and customs in France: "The imitative and fanciful compositions now current have been carefully excluded, and the original contemporary works of many faithful artists have been chosen."

The *European Magazine* was one of those several miscellanies of English publication, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, which were so very lofty in their asserted intents and so very low in reality. One series of papers is from "The Man-Milliner," but he confines his fashion notes chiefly to recitals of court dress. We learn nothing of everyday garments. He tells of a grand ball given

in 1782, by "The Kiddies," a club composed of young men under twenty-five; a costly ball of fifteen hundred tickets at two guineas each. It proved, however, but "a dull scene of unanimated grandeur." The dress of the men was almost entirely "velvet with fur linings" — fur for ball dress! If the coats were embroidered on the seams, they were called "gala-suits." The prince wore a velvet coat, its color, "Dauphin's blush." One of his dukes, velvet "gris de Daricé"; Carmelite color was a favorite; and "air-balloon" tint. "The ball was crowded at 9," he writes. All the "vanitees and balls" seem dull in the recital. At the queen's birthnight ball, one of the princesses dropped her slipper, and this was deemed most for-

*Miss Jane Butterfield*

Drawn from the Life.

*Published by G. Robinson as the Act directs Sep.r 1.1775.*

tunate, because so "very lively an event" gave great "go" to the affair. A long poem was evolved, a great flame from the tiny spark of the dropped slipper. Such accounts as this, and many of the pictures, even the caricatures of the day, show so much excitement over trivial events, find such mild wickednesses so astonishing, that we really wonder whether there was any very great vice in "Life" at that time.

There was a scurrilous miscellany or magazine, published in London in the latter half of the eighteenth century, called *Town and Country*. It was one of the poorest of the class of which the *Gentleman's Magazine* was the best. All of them, in response to the taste of the times, gave résumés and sometimes extended accounts — reports they were termed — of recent crimes and current trials. *Town and Country*, and the *European Magazine*, and the *Ladies' Miscellany*, had scant illustrations, usually but one to a number.

In *Town and Country* were copperplate portraits of persons in some prominence or notoriety. A famous set were the Tête-à-têtes, which ran for twenty-seven years; and in that time gathered in much social refuse. These were simply kit-cat portraits, monotonous in form; a man and a woman facing each other, sometimes labelled with explanatory titles (often ill-spelled), as "The Fair Inconstent;" "The Famous Orater;" "A Young Pennitent;" "A Princes Favourite;" "A reproveing Monitoir;" "The Aged Seduser." Sometimes initials were given, with that transparent guile by the help of which our sapient editor ancestors managed

to afford infamous information without incurring suits for libel or challenges to duels. If the features of "The Frail Amerecan" were placarded beside a scant-chinned British officer entitled "General W—fe," it did not require extraordinary perspicuity to know that General Wolfe was indicated; I presume every reader in London and many in New York and Boston at that time could name the "Frail Amerecan," but her name is now to us as dust and ashes.

Mrs Rudd

Drawn from the Life. Sept.16. 1775

*Town and Country* found in the criminal court, as well as in the royal court, subjects for illustration; in the year 1775 two women were portrayed who shine, not only as noted criminals, but as the very "Glass of Fashion." Their portraits can well be copied now, as

they were studied then, as patterns of the prevailing modes. They are far more distinctive than any French fashion-plates of that date.

One of these women was Miss Jane Butterfield. The plate showing her fashionable dress is reproduced on page 673. She was a beautiful young creature who was arrested and put on trial on the accusation of poisoning a gentleman named Scawen. This man had been her greatest friend and her greatest ill-doer ever since she was fourteen years of age. He had given her an extraordinary education and a beautiful home, as well as rich carriages and superb attire. This she recounted in the appeal she made to the jury, in which she told her overwhelming grief at his death, and her great reason to desire his life. The simplest mind could discover from the evidence that the man had died from reckless overdoses of a violent quack medicine administered by himself, and the jury in fifteen minutes returned a verdict of "Not Guilty," which was received with great applause.

The pretty prisoner's hat with its studied folds and graceful puffs seems to me of elegant style; and her polonaise most refined and graceful; the whole outline of her dress is good. But her glory pales before a more shining star of suspected womanhood, namely, Mrs. Mary Caroline Rudd, who was tried for forgery in the Old Bailey, London, in 1775. She was acquitted; it was told frankly that her great beauty and wonderful style, her well-simulated agitation, and even "the tremulous flutter and rustle of her elbow laces," all told upon the susceptible jury,

to whom early in the day she turned "in perfect confidence," so she clearly and cleverly stated, "in their judgment, intelligence, and honor."

The accounts of the trial show a wonderfully active brain and "astonishing composure," while other testimony was given, some of it plainly damaging. She kept a constant relay of notes of advice flying out to her lawyers, and she turned every incident to her account and benefit. Her accomplices, two brothers named Perreau, who were tried at the same court, were hanged; and it is impossible to see why they were convicted when she was acquitted. They were picturesque rogues, too, being twins of exact likeness, very handsome, very tall, very agreeable, very fashionable both in dress and equipage. They were reputed to be wealthy — as was Mrs. Rudd, who passed as the wife of Charles Perreau. These brothers solemnly declared their innocence; but Mrs. Rudd was plainly anxious that they should not escape, for up to the day of their being "turn'd off" she sent a series of letters to those in authority

Ruffled Levite on Mrs. Rudd.

in the court, eagerly offering proof of the guilt of the Perreaus. She plainly feared they might be pardoned. Among others who asserted their admiration of her grace and style was little Boswell; and even the great Dr. Johnson proclaimed his interest in her agitation and her cunning.

She wore at her trial, says a contemporary account, "elegant second mourning," which was black and white. A drawing of her "from life," as she stood in the witness-stand with her pendulous ruffles fluttering in her modest agitation, appeared in *Town and Country*. It is reproduced on page 675. If I had never seen any presentation of the dress of the year 1775, I should know by instinct that this costume was the height of good style. It has that indescribable "good form"; that air of complete fashion which can be felt at times even in viewing a carved effigy on a tomb. Every detail of the dress, its hang, its pretty and fashionable robings, the poise of the figure, the set of the little mantle, the exquisitely dressed hair, the wonderfully elegant "head" with its graceful spotted trimmings, — all are perfection.

Her story and her style did not fail to catch the attention of Bartolozzi; I have his drawing of her, but have not reproduced it here. He was so anxious to present the criminal with the striking contrast of the Old Bailey pen, that he failed to catch the elegante.

Another drawing of Mrs. Rudd, also from life, is on page 677. We may study every detail of these portraits of her with perfect confidence that therein we have the very best modes of her day. Her head

in an undress cap is given on this page; and a beautiful spotted "head" on page 680. I feel really grateful to Mrs. Rudd for her attention to her dress at

Mrs. Rudd.

these trials, and I am even willing to believe her beautiful. But if her real face was as sly as her picture, it was well she was tried by a jury of men, for no woman would trust her or believe in that sleek, treacherous, Becky Sharp countenance.

It is easy to obtain a complete presentation of

French modes for the nineteenth century. From 1799 to 1829 that truly important and powerful publication, *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, was owned and carried on by an ecclesiastic named La Mésangère, who had been professor of philosophy in the college of La Flèche. In the pursuit of his last-chosen and most unecclesiastical and unphilosophical calling, he became so deeply imbued with a purely personal love of dress that at his death he had in his wardrobe, for his own wear, two thousand pairs of shoes, seventy-five coats, a hundred round hats, and uncounted breeches. Every fifth day for the thirty years of his reign this reverend philosopher and mode-maker issued a colored plate of a fashionably dressed dame; and on the fifteenth of each month, two larger and more important plates. The official organ for description of those fashions was *Le Bon Genre.*

Spotted Lace Head.

To English-speaking folk, the presence of priest or parson in such a calling is unspeakably ill fitting, but it was neither shocking nor even surprising to French folk. Madame had turned for many years to Monsieur l'Abbé for advice and information on matters of dress. While the hair-dresser built up her hair and curled and frizzed in a great pouf, and until both lady and friseur retired for a final touch in a powdering-closet, an idle, sneering, or cringing priest whispered in madame's ear accounts of the

gowns of her friends; scandal about the debts of her rivals; secrets he had bullied or wheedled from milliners and tailors or from ladies' maids. He often brought to her boudoir pawned jewels and smuggled or even stolen laces for her purchase. The French priest of those days has been called a tame cat, but the comparison is not wholly a true one. There was an element of jackal, of vulture, in his nature. He fattened in purse and person on the spoils and misfortunes of others. He carried scandal, foul truths, and foul lies just as he disposed of cast-off jewels and finery.

# CHAPTER XXVIII

## ARMOR, ARMS, AND UNIFORMS

"*There was a steel head-piece, a cuirass, a gorget and greaves with a pair of gauntlets and a sword hanging beneath; all, especially the helmet and breast-plate so highly burnished as to glow with white radiance. This bright panoply was not made for idle show; it had been worn by the Governor on many a solemn muster and training field; and had glittered moreover at the head of a regiment in the Pequod War.*"

— "The Scarlet Letter," NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, 1850.

"*Stand to it noble Pikemen*
*And look you round about.*
*And shoot you right, you Bowmen,*
*And we will keep them out.*
*You Musket and Calliver men*
*Do you prove true to me.*
*And I'll be foremost in the fight,*
*Says brave Lord Willoughby.*"

— "Ballad of Brave Lord Willoughby," 1588 (circa).

# CHAPTER XXVIII

## ARMOR, ARMS, AND UNIFORMS

N the "List of Apparell" furnished in 1624 to the emigrants of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were ample arms and armor. It is interesting to know how the Colonial militia and the heroes of the Indian wars were equipped and garbed, so I will recount their outfit: —

"3 Drums and to each two pair of Heads.
2 Ensigns.
2 Partisans; one for the Captain & one for Leftenant.
3 Halberds for the 3 Sergeants.
80 Bastard Muskets with snaphances, 4 foot long in the barrel; without rests.
6 long fowling pieces, musket bore, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long.
4 long fowling pieces, musket bore, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long.
10 full muskets, four foot barrel, match cocks, and rests.
90 Bandoleers for the muskets, each with a bullet bag.
10 Horn Flasks for the long fowling pieces to hold 12 pounds powder apiece.
100 Swords and belts.
60 Corselets.
60 Pikes.
20 Half Pikes."

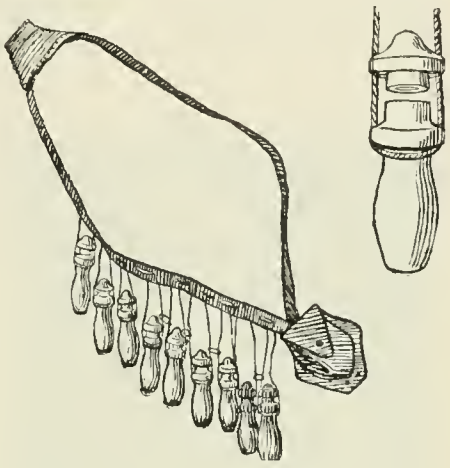
Heavy arms such as culverins, sakers, drakes, shot and powder, were also supplied.

Of course these articles formed precisely the arms, armor-uniform, and accoutrements which were supplied to English soldiers; and the simplest way to view the dress of one of these first American militiamen is to turn to pictures of English soldiers of that day. I give on this page two rude cuts from a rare book entitled *Directions for Musters*, 1638. The

Two Cuts from "Directions for Musters," 1638.

pike-drill was comparatively simple, but the drill of musketeers was complicated by the necessary use of the gun-rest. If you will consider a moment the difficulty of holding a heavy musket, of loading it, of aiming and firing it, you will see that a soldier should have had at least four hands. He had to hold his bullets in his mouth, and twist his burning match in two fingers of the hand that steadied the gun-rest, whereby it constantly scorched him.

Among the unusual arms was the partisan, a great pike or spontoon. It had a broad crescent-shaped blade. A halberd was a long-staffed axe; a snaphance was a firelock musket. A bandoleer is here given. It was a shoulder-belt bearing bullet-bag, priming-box, and a row of little cylindrical boxes or cases each containing a single musket charge of powder. Sometimes the whole belt and its trappings was termed the bandoleer; at other times the word was applied simply to the little cylinders containing the charges. The case was of wood or metal covered with leather and strung with a cord on the shoulder-belt. The cover was made to slip up and down on the cord, that it might not be detached and lost. The band holding these bandoleers was frequently of strong neat's leather, and was usually worn over one shoulder and hung down under the opposite arm. It will be seen that the bandoleer was a very ornamental as well as useful part of a soldier's dress. The corselet covered the body. In another entry in our colonial records it was explained that the corselet, breast-piece, back-piece, culet, gorget, tasses, and head-piece of each set of "defensive armour" furnished to the American soldier were all varnished black, as were the leathers and buckles.



Bandoleer.

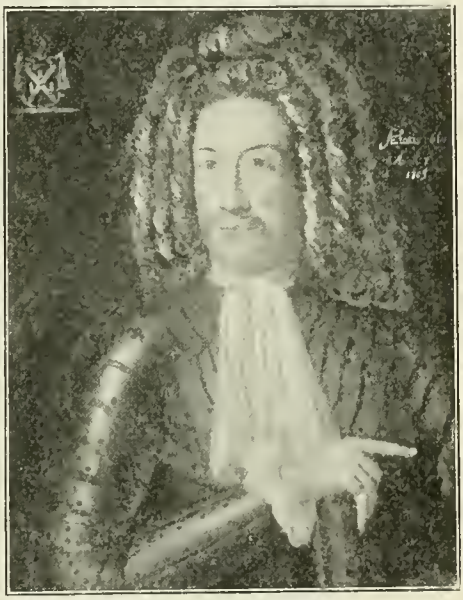
Cromwell's soldiers fought in cuirasses and tassets, vambraces and pauldrons, gorgets and triple-barred helmets. These latter named were called "lobster tailed," from the jointed flap which covered the back of the neck. The Cavaliers, we are told, opposed them wearing only a gorget over buff-coat, and a triple-barred helmet. If this were so, I cannot see why these same reckless Cavaliers constantly had their portraits painted in the fullest of armor; these portraits bearing also the tradition that this armor was worn at such and such an encounter with the Roundheads. However, it matters little now whether the Roundhead carefully encased himself in protective iron which gave him his name, Ironsides, while the Cavalier rode in careless attire, since of both we must say: —

William Penn in Youth.

"Their bodies are dust,
Their good swords, rust,
Their souls are with the Saints, I trust."

The other pieces worn by the stern Ironsides may be described thus: the tassets were horizontal steel bands or flat hoops forming on either side a skirt below the breast-plate. Sometimes the separate

tasset had plate overlapping plate, till the thigh and leg from waist to knee were covered. These ended with ornamental knee-caps. Vmbraces or vambraces were armor for the forearm. They included a gracefully shaped shell curved out as a shield to the inner part of the elbow-joint. Pauldrons were shoulder-plates. The gorget was the collar or throat-piece of armor which protected the throat and upper neck. It is of interest because in the form of a gilt crescent-shaped trinket it appears until our own day. It was worn by officers while on duty, and may be seen dangling around the neck on many of our portraits of Revolutionary officers (Washington, General Sullivan, Greene, Benedict Arnold, and on Lord Howe). As the "sign and symbol" of active military service it was regarded with much sentiment; and one of these Continental gorgets is deemed a priceless relic. Madam Washington could bestow no greater treasure to honor a gallant soldier than when she gave the gorget which had been worn by her husband.



Sir Nathaniel Johnson in Armor.

The Puritan's open protestation of despising gay dress showed in Cromwell's army. But one portrait

is known to exist of any of his officers. This is the portrait of Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes. He wears the orange-colored scarf over his right shoulder and under his left arm; and also a breastplate over a buff-coat. This buff-coat is open on the hips, and has a curious and interesting sleeve edged with pinking and fastened with ties of leather.

Sleeve of Buff-coat.

An excellent example of a buff-coat is shown in the portrait of Sir Richard Saltonstall (facing page 18). Another is upon Captain George Curwen. (See facing page 204.) He was born in England, 1610; came to Salem in 1638, and became a prominent merchant and commanded a troop of horse, from whence he received his title of captain.

By 1663 the new English uniform was fixed. Officers wore no armor save a steel gorget; this, of course, of full size. Silk armor was invented, doublet and breeches of quilted silk, thick bonnet with ear-flaps, all a dusky orange color. Roger North says of it:—

"Abundance of those silken back and breasts were made and sold, that were pretended to be pistol proof, in which any man dressed was as safe as in a house, for it was impossible any one could strike at him for laughing, so ridiculous was the figure, as they say of hogs in armour."

I was very glad when I learned of this stuffed and quilted armor of the English soldiers; for I had always been rather ashamed of the figure cut by the New England colonists, who, in Connecti-

Fitz-John Winthrop.

cut, and possibly in other colonies, were ordered to wear jackets and breeches thickly "stuffed with cotton-wool, as defensive against Indian arrows."

I had heard in my ears the roars of laughter of Governor Andros and his troopers when he came to

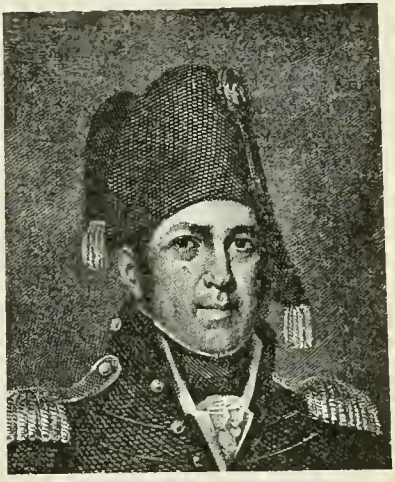
Hartford to demand the Connecticut charter, and first saw the cotton-stuffed doublets and breeches of the Connecticut soldiery. But now I know that Colonel Andros had seen the English "hogs in armour," and could not laugh at the colonists.

The armor worn by Fitz-John Winthrop in his picture is apparently mediæval. English noblemen and military men were constantly painted in such antique armor at that date, but it was not what they wore in the army. The real armor which Fitz-John Winthrop wore is much simpler; it is still owned by members of the Winthrop family. His sword, a genuine Andrea Ferrara, is now in the custody of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester.

The square coat, cocked hat, and wig of the French army and the French court had come to England, and French influence had continued to transform the army throughout the century until the accession of Queen Anne in 1702.

Throughout the reigns of George I and II little changes came save in wigs and hats, which were, however, deemed of vast importance in dress. The Ramillies wig of the army was succeeded by the tie-wig, bob-wig, and natural pigtail. A very high German grenadier's cap was adopted — you can see it in many of Hogarth's prints, such as *The March to Finchley*. Purple had become a favorite color. Even in 1695 the coats of drummers were purple, with gray breeches. George II, habited in gray cloth faced with purple, and purple feathers in his hat, reviewed his troops in 1727; it seems to me a most unsoldierlike dress. The cocked hat was

turned up in the corner "like a minced pye," but soon gave way to a hat called the Kevenhuller. In 1770, under George III, the cocked hat was worn. This is the hat which came across seas to fight the "ragged regimentals" of our Continental soldiers. It was small, and the flaps fastened up to the shallow crown with hooks and eyes, the crown being seen above them. In the Kevenhuller, the crown had been wholly hidden, and the middle of the front brim was the highest point. In the Ramillies hat, the back flap turned up sharply, and was not only higher than the crown, but higher than the two front flaps, the middle of the front brim being scalloped out a bit. The long, narrow hat, with two flaps, which came later and had a little tassel or rosette on the two extreme points of the brim, was called the Wellington hat. It is here shown. This hat was worn in the nineteenth century when the United States had had for a number of years a uniform of its own for its own army; but the tradition of perfection which existed as to all relating to the British army was strong enough to place a Wellington hat on a Yankee head.



Wellington Hat.

As this book is not a general history of the United States, nor is this chapter upon the war of the Revolution, there is no need to dwell upon the condition

of the English army when Americans began to dream of liberty. It may be read in the letters of General Wolfe to his father. Mean, corrupt, murdering, insolent, dirty, drunken, disorderly, immoral, undisciplined, slack, demoralized, easy to disorder, hard to recover, of precarious valor, tramps, loafers, jailbirds, — all these words and phrases he applies to the soldiers, ending with "the officers are loose, the soldiers are very devils."

These wonderful English officers and these wonderful English soldiers sneeringly called Washington's army the "Homespuns." Let it stand! It was a truthful nickname — and one to be proud of. There was far deeper power and significance in that title than the English scoffers knew. Had it not been a homespun army it could never have conquered the British. There were no great contractors to supply cloth and make uniforms for the Continental soldiers in those days; there was no money to pay them had there been such firms, but when in 1775 the Provincial Congress sent out through the land an appeal for thirteen thousand warm coats for the winter uniforms of these American soldiers, there was a great army of loyal, loving, industrious women ready to supply homespun garments. At hundreds of hearthstones, wool-wheels and handlooms were started within a day, within an hour, at work on the wool sheared from the home sheep; that order was filled almost wholly by these patriotic women. In the inside of each coat was sewn a label bearing the name of the town and the coat-maker. Many a romance sprung therefrom. Some rather

rudely shaped garments came from those homespun tailoresses, but the coats were warm and substantial, and when the choice was offered to each man of a coat or a bounty, he eagerly chose the homespun coat. The list of the makers and wearers of these bounty coats still are saved in old New England towns, and called a "Coat-Roll."

Daniel Boone in Indian Hunting Dress.

For some years the English officers who came to America noted with approval certain details of dress of the American Indians, and they even adopted articles of Indian wear for occasional use. In the lists of the attire of English soldiers in America, Indian leggings and moccasins, and even a hunting-shirt, appear side by side with pigtail wigs and muffs.

It had been more than hinted to Braddock that

he could learn of the Indian how to fight the Indian. Franklin said of him that his reverses came because he had too poor an opinion of the Indian. Braddock's way of carrying out a skirmish or attack was a perfect delight to the savage, who, safe behind a sheltering tree, picked off the vivid red coats at leisure. His successor, clever Lord Howe, promptly threw off the cumbersome English uniforms, cut off the troublesome pigtails, and put on Indian leggings to protect the legs from briers.

In 1775 Washington ordered Indian boots or leggings instead of stockings, "especially as the General has hopes of prevailing with Congress to give each man a hunting shirt." In October, 1776, these were assigned to each soldier: —

"2 Linen Hunting Shirts.
2 Pair Stockings.
2 Pair Shoes.
2 Pair Overalls.
A Woolen Jacket with Sleeves.
1 Pair Breeches.
1 Leathern Cap or Hat."

A Continental uniform had taken definite form on paper — a blue or black coat with the lapels fastened back, ten openworked buttonholes done in yellow, with ten large buttons at equal distances on the lapels; three like buttons on the cuff and pocket-flap; the skirts hooked back showing a red lining; the bottom of the coat cut square; the lappets, cuff-linings and standing-capes red; a single-breasted waistcoat with twelve smaller regular buttons; black

half-gaiters ; white shirt, ruffled at sleeves and wrists ; black cocked hat with yellow or red plume and black cockade ; gilt-handled small sword and gilt epaulettes. Such was the soldierly dress that Washington longed to see on his men. Few of them, alas ! ever wore it in completeness.

Soon we learn of a company of picked Virginia riflemen, under the famous old hunter Daniel Morgan, on their way to join the Continental army at Cambridge under the command of Washington. Here is a description of these Virginia marksmen : —

"They wear also a shot bag and powder horn carved with a variety of whimsical figures and devices hung from their neck over one shoulder ; on their heads a flapped hat, burnt a reddish hue by the sun. Sometimes they wear leather breeches of Indian dressed elk or deerskin, but more frequently thin trousers. On their legs they have Indian boots or leggins made of coarse woolen cloth, either wrapped around loosely and tied with garters or laced on the outside. These come better than half way up the thigh. On their feet they sometimes wear pumps of their own manufacture, but generally Indian moccasons which are made of strong elk or buckskin dressed soft ; drawn in regular plaits of the toe, lacing from thence round to the fore-part of the middle of the ankle ; without a seam in them yet fitting close to the feet and perfectly easy and pliant."

Thus clad, with his rifle on his shoulder, the man was "completely equipped for visiting, courtship, travel, hunting, or war." The dress was warmly approved by Washington, who said tersely that the wearer "was cool in warm weather and warm in cold weather" ; that no dress could be found

"cheaper or more convenient." He says it is a garb both "decent and light" — and he adds, shrewdly, "it causes no small terror to the enemy, who think every such wearer a complete marksman."

Uniform of Continental Officer.

It is easy to gather sentences of approval of the hunting-shirt. American history and letters abound in admiring words. To the primitive articles of absolute perfection made by the North American savage, namely, the canoe, snowshoe, and moccasin, all who had worn it added the hunting-shirt.

These men of Morgan's wore a motto on the breast of their hunting-shirts, — "Liberty or Death," — and Patrick Henry's command of riflemen carried tomahawks and scalping-knives, and wore bucktails in their hats. Their shirts and breeches were made of tow-cloth steeped in a tan-vat till the color of a dry leaf. When dressed, the Virginia

riflemen thus bore a very good resemblance to the khaki-clad soldier of the nineteenth-century volunteers.

In the general orders of Washington, August 20, 1776, we find field officers assigned a pink cockade; captains, white or buff; subalterns, green. On July 19, 1780, the officers are recommended to have white and black cockades, a black ground with white relief, emblematic of the expected union of the armies, American and French. In 1783 it was

Cocked Hats with Continental Cockades.

called a "Union Cockade," and was to be worn on the left breast. By 1798 several persons were punished for a misdemeanor for having a red and blue cockade.

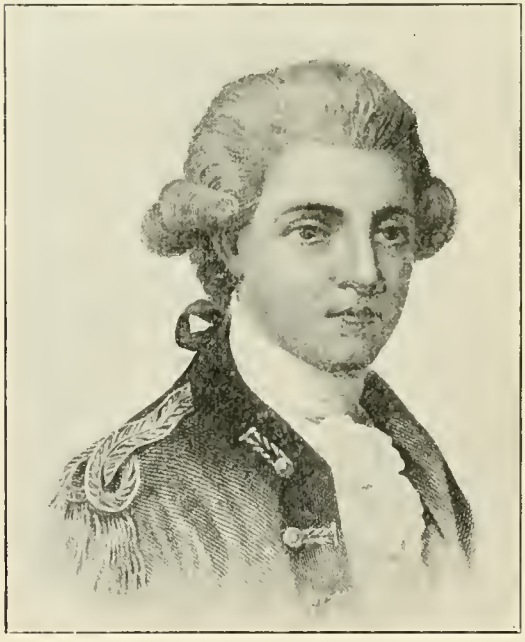
The cockades were made both of leather and silk. The chapeaux bras, which are still worn by the general and staff officers of the American army, have the same black cockade.

Much thought was given to this cockade. I have a letter written in the year 1782 by the famous John Paul Jones, the most romantic figure in the American Revolution. In it he says:—

"I have the Honour to send you the Cocade I promised, as I forgot to deliver it when I breakfasted with you.

The *Blue* in it may with Propriety be adopted as the National Cocade of America, leaving the *Black* to England, which is a true emblem of the character of that *Dark-minded Nation*. The Friendship of our illustrious Ally towards these Sovereign Independent States — as the Red may represent the glowing Friendship of Spain — I wish to see this Cocade worn by the Officers of the Navy — at least till a better can be devised. It is known in France as our Cocade of Triple Alliance, and I have on particular Desire presented many of them to the first Characters of Europe."

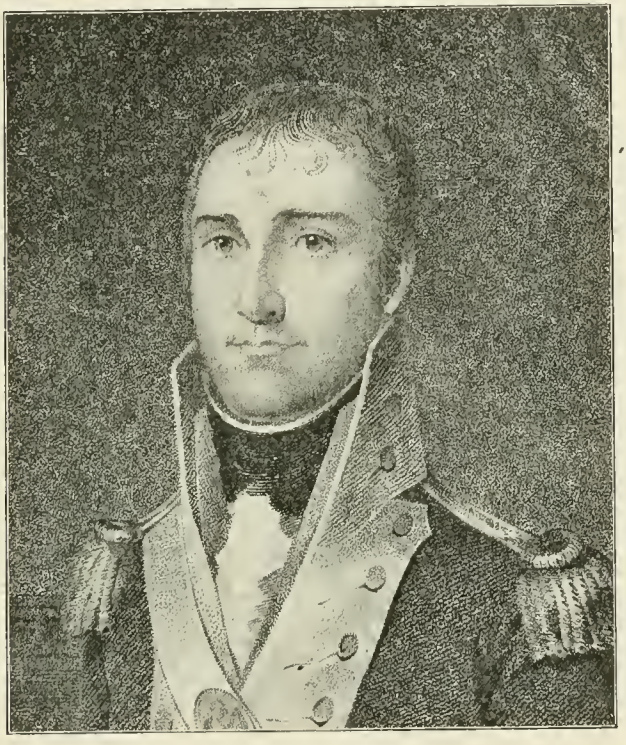
Two officers' hats are given on page 699 (on General Wayne and Colonel Willetts) from portraits by Trumbull. They show the cockade very distinctly; a circle of black ribbon loops with white ribbon caught up in the middle to two buttons at the top from one button at the bottom. We owe much to Trumbull for his portraiture of the Revolutionary times and characters.



Major André.

The cut of the hair caused much thought in the army. The hair of the officers was often worn like this of André, the most becoming form of

hair-dressing ever worn by civilized men. The face was of course clean shaved; and the hair powdered and cued. Stores of flour and tallow for the hair of the common soldiers were issued to each company; each man was allowed half a pound of flour a week.



Colonel Claiborne.

Those whose hair was not long enough had false cues of chamois leather with a tuft of hair at the end which was spliced or fastened on in some way. To tie a good cue was an accomplishment; soldiers tied each other's when the regimental barber did not get around. Sometimes a whole company, as of gunners, would wear false cues of strong

black leather which were cleaned and polished with the shoes. When whiskers were allowed, a string was stretched from one ear through the lips to the other ear; all the beard below the string was shaved.

Short ear-whiskers were permitted, but no other beard or whisker until the year 1853. When the hair was ordered to be cut, the older officers rebelled, and some were court-martialled.

I own an original portrait by Trumbull of General Horatio Gates. He wears the blue and buff uniform, and the hat with black and white cockade; also small-clothes and top-boots.

The greatest change in the uniform of the army of the United States came in 1802 when standing collars of vast proportions were enjoined. One of these collars is shown on page 701. These must not be less than three inches wide and must "reach the tip of the ear and in front as high as the chin would permit." Coatees or jackets came in, also nankeen breeches and leather caps with bell crowns, a grotesque dress. Soon came long trousers, and modern times and attire.

# CHAPTER XXIX

## DRESS DURING THE REVOLUTION

"*Do not conceive that fine clothes make fine men any more than fine feathers make fine birds. A plain genteel dress is more admired and obtains more credit than lace and embroidery in the eyes of the sensible.*"

— "George Washington's Letter to his Nephew, Bushrod Washington," January 15, 1783.

"*Dress yourself fine where others are fine; plain where others are plain; but take care always that your clothes are well made and fit you. When you are once well dressed for the day, think no more of it afterwards; and without any stiffness for fear of discomposing your dress let all your motions be as easy and natural as though you had no clothes on at all. So much for Dress which I maintain to be a thing of consequence in the polite world.*"

— "Lord Chesterfield's Letter to his Son," 1748.

# CHAPTER XXIX

## DRESS DURING THE REVOLUTION

TO write a true account of dress during the years of the American Revolution seems a well-nigh impossible thing. Never was a poor historian confronted with more conflicting sources. In one letter you read of poverty, want, and privation,—the next has the story of a great and gay ball. You read that the people of Boston died of cold and inadequate food; the next sentence is the description of a theatrical entertainment in Faneuil Hall. Women on the farms pinched and almost starved to send food and clothing to the soldiers; my own great-grandmother stood in the fields directing the puny ploughing of a single ancient ox and a young Indian boy and heard the distant cannon of the battle of Ticonderoga; heard the sound with glad rejoicing, though she saw around her a wasting cropless farm where two years before a score of sturdy men had been at work, and hundreds of fertile acres had yielded plenty and comfort for her and her family. Yet here is a splendid brocade sacque that was worn by another kinswoman, the wife of an American officer, at a regimental dinner. It was a day of vast incongruities.

Without recounting all the influences which led to these conditions, I may point out two which had a special bearing upon dress at this time; one was the presence in America of the English and German officers, and occasionally of their wives. Read of Quaker Philadelphia when, garbed in gayest of uniforms and crowned with tallest of plumes, the army of Howe took possession of the city. Look at the truly beautiful face of the unfortunate André. Can you wonder that Peggy Chew and Peggy Shippen eagerly wore high head-dresses, or, indeed, any kind of head-dress that he designed for them? He makes in a characteristically charming letter this rash promise: —

"You know the Mesquianza made me a complete milliner. Should you not have received supplies for your fullest equipment from that department I shall be glad to enter into the whole details of cap-wire, needles, gauze, &c.; and to the best of my abilities render you in these trifles services from which I hope you would infer a zeal to be further employed."

Read of the dancing-parties, the regattas (a novelty even in England at that time), the fishing-parties, the horse-races, the theatrical entertainments which André and the English officers got up for the amusement of Philadelphia belles. For these plays André and Captain de Lancey painted the scenery, and the parts were played by English officers. Outraged and indignant Continentals, to whom came this heartless news must have deemed it appropriate that the play was entitled *The Duce is*

*in Them.* Read of the climax of gayety, extravagance and pomp in that most singular of all entertainments in times of war — the *Meschianza*, in which The Knights of the Blended Rose contended with The Knights of the Burning Mountain for laurels for their fair ones in one of the most beautiful pageants ever seen in private life. André proved he could do more than design millinery. He planned the cards of invitation, he oversaw the erection of vast pavilions, he painted yards upon yards of satin and silk with designs of festoons of flowers for the walls and ceilings of supper rooms and ball-rooms, he made elaborate drawings of the costumes.

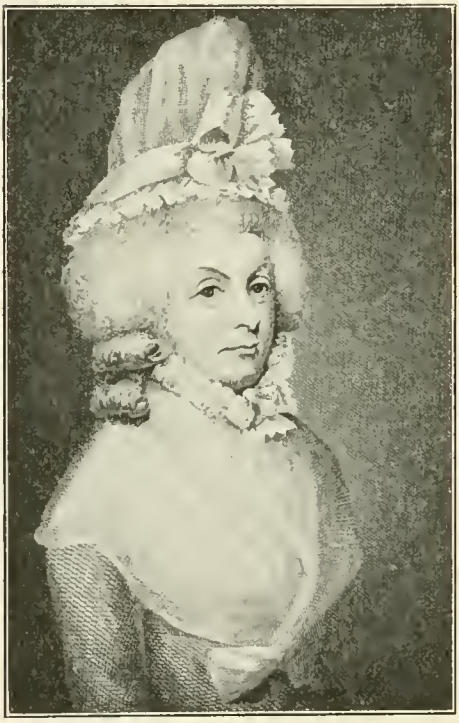
After the tournament came costly fireworks, and a supper of "430 Covers, 1200 Dishes, 24 Black Slaves in Oriental dresses with Silver Collars and Bracelets ranged in 2 lines and bending to the ground as the General and Admiral approached the Saloon." We cannot help smiling a little at the thought of poor André as he drilled the average "darky waiter" of that day — twenty-four of them — until they were full-fledged "Oriental black slaves."

It is curious to read that a faro-bank was set up in a pavilion, and much enjoyed by the guests. The decorations for this gaming-room were horns-of-plenty — a singular choice.

Naturally all this extravagance and frivolity was abhorrent to the Quaker citizens of Philadelphia; but in truth, it was a very orderly affair — in spite of the faro-bank and the liberal wine; the character of the young ladies who took part in it absolutely

insured its being a perfectly respectable affair. It should also be noted that it had no sentimental sequence; not one of the Knights married one of their chosen Ladies, though several found American wives in other cities.

It was natural that men in the American army should resent this warm participation by American girls in English army festivities; and an effort towards social punishment was made in Philadelphia after the American army were conquerors; patriotic citizens tried to exclude from social life all the ladies who had taken part in the Meschianza and other British functions; but when we know that General Benedict Arnold, the American commanding officer, soon became affianced to fair Peggy Shippen, one of André's dearest friends, we can see that such efforts were short and futile.



Mrs. Anne Jones.

New York girls had several years in which to flirt with gallant redcoats and to display their most modish gowns; and several important marriages were the result of the flirtations and the gowns.

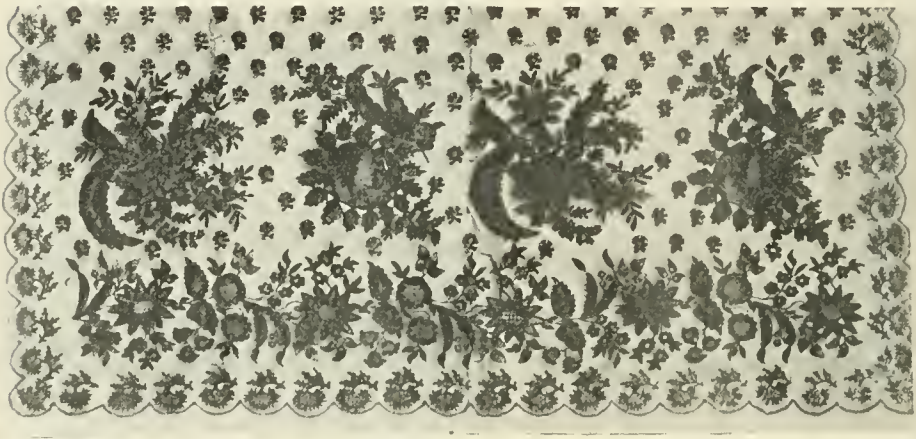
There were plentiful balls given even in that shut-in city. The King's Birth-night Ball, the Queen's Birthnight Ball, the Coronation Ball; the rejoicings over the arrival of the third son of George III, Prince William Henry — "an amiable young prince"; there was no lack of occasion for gayety.

Mrs. Rebecca Blodget. 1790.

Rebecca Franks, a Philadelphia belle who was visiting shut-in New York in 1778, wrote thus of social life at that time: —

"You have no idea of the life of continued amusement I live in. I can scarce have a moment to myself. I have stole this while everybody is retired to dress for dinner. I am but just come from under Mr. J. Black's hands, and most elegantly dressed am I for a ball this evening at Smith's, where we have one every Thursday. . . . The dress is more rediculous and pretty than anything I ever saw — a great quantity of different colored feathers on the head at a time beside a thousand other things. The hair dressed very high, in the shape Miss Vining's was the night we returned from Smith's — the Hat we found in your Mother's closet wou'd be of a proper size. I have an afternoon cap with one wing, tho' I assure you I go less in the fashion than most of the ladies — not being dressed without a hoop."

The second great incentive to dress in those Revolutionary times was the presence of our French allies. Read of Newport during these years. Count de Rochambeau was fifty-five years old, but he entered all the merrymaking in Newport town as if he had been but twenty-five; and he records

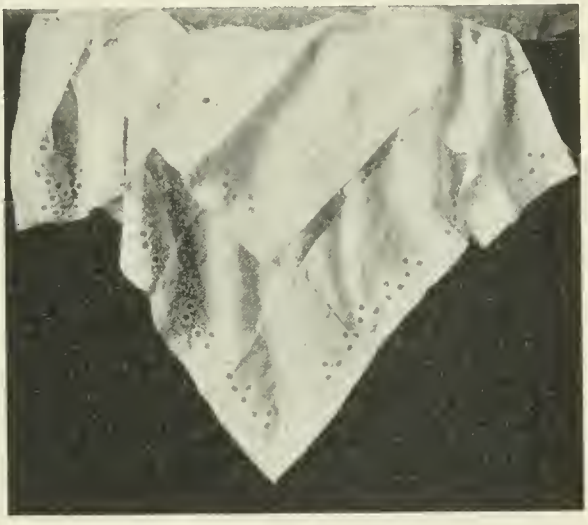


Needle-wrought Lace Veil.

the gayety in that collection of letters in which English grammar affords but a poor conveyance for French courtesy. See the pretty face of Peggy Champlin with her "creped" hair, in "the French taste"; you can fancy her dancing "A Successful Campaign" with General Washington to the rollicking tune played by De Rochambeau and his suite. Nothing old or hallowed was spared by irreverent young American lasses in their desire to fascinate the Frenchmen. What of Miss Patty Parsons, who cut up the embroidered sky-blue satin waistcoat which had been worn by her grandfather at the English court; and who fashioned therefrom a

"Jocky" which was deemed "wondrous becoming." A trooper's scarlet coat was made into a beautiful jacket for a fair girl, and from the little pieces cut from the coat-tails, lapels, etc., were fashioned a perfectly fitting pair of warm winter gloves, bound with gray squirrel fur which also furnished a collar and cuffs for the jacket. With a gray homespun petticoat to match, Miss Virginia had a truly becoming dress; her great grand-daughter copied it in 1864, and from like materials and in like exigencies of war.

The term "macaroni" was just as familiar to New York as to London — in fact, it had a more enduring name and fame because "Yankee Doodle stuck a feather in his hat and called it Macaroni." I find macaroni buttons advertised, and macaroni ribbons, and a macaroni hat; a "macaroni waistcoat pattern" as early as 1771, and "macaroni velvet for waistcoats." There was a "Macaroni Purse" at the Jamaica races — a purse for £100, and a "Macaroni Consort" was given in the tavern parlor. The type and the term originated in 1770, when a number of idle young



Embroidered Neckerchief. 1800.

Englishmen formed a Macaroni Club in London after having taken a "grand tour" in Italy. The name stood for all that was grotesque and extreme. The most marked characteristic of dress was the high-pointed peaked roll of craped and powdered hair that men and women both wore; and men as well as women wore great breast-knots of flowers.

There is no doubt but the presence in America of the wives of many of the English and German officers was a certain stimulus in dress. We know what a little court was held at times of quiet in the towns by that sweet woman, Baroness Riedésel; a woman whose presence in the British camp was a God-sent blessing in times of action.

Another woman of charm, whose fortunes and affections brought her to America during the Revolution was Lady Harriet Acland, or Ackland as it was sometimes spelled.

This interesting and beautiful young woman followed her gallant husband to America, where he served his king in the war with the colonies. She was a graceful, gracious creature; most charmingly dressed, aristocratic in her features and carriage; or, as said a contemporary, "the person of her ladyship was highly graceful and delicate, and her manners elegantly feminine." I have four portraits of her, all are models of fashion. The finest one is by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and is given on the opposite page; it hangs in the dining hall at "Killerton." One is in a white hood. All the high crises in her life seem to have been connected with America, and these form a series of striking scenes: her coming

to America while her husband commanded the British troops during the Revolution; his capture by the

Lady Harriet Acland. By Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Continental army while wounded; her trip overland to join him in the American camp; her voyage in an open boat, accompanied by the chaplain, down the river, and her journey through the lines of

the American forces, till she reached her husband. Major Acland, after the war, lost his life in a duel with an Englishman who called the Americans cowards — an extraordinary tribute to his former enemies.

Head of Lady Harriet Acland.

The shock of his death deprived Lady Acland of her reason, but she recovered enough to marry the chaplain who had accompanied her on her gloomy journey into the camp of General Gates.

The wives of wealthy American officers followed their husbands to camp. Mrs. General Knox was among them — good natured, handsomely dressed, card-playing, fat. It was one of the scandals of the army — the money won and lost at her card-tables. Mrs. John Hancock was more cautious. John Adams wrote to his wife of her: —

"She lives among a hundred men at this house, with modesty, decency, dignity, discretion. Her behavior is easy and genteel. In large and mixed company she is totally silent as a lady ought to be. But whether her eyes are so penetrating, or her attention so quick to the words, gestures, sentiments, looks, &c., of the company as yours would be — saucy as you are this way — I won't say."

"Dorothy Q." Hancock.

Mrs. Hancock was always charmingly dressed. Her portrait by Copley is given facing page 714. A letter exists, written by John Hancock to "Dorothy Q." before they were married, in which he tells of his gift to her of a box containing several pairs of silk and thread stockings, black satin shoes, black calli-manco shoes, a very pretty light hat, a neat, airy summer cloak, two capes, and a fan — a very pretty "basket of gallantries," as Saint Simon would call it.

Embroidered Silk Apron.

Though women managed to have scarlet cloaks and feathered topknots, they suffered for petty things in war time. The lack of pins was much cried out upon during the Revolution.

During the scarcity of pins, various home-substitutes took their place; thorns from several thorn-trees were used; and Franklin examined with inquisitive interest the spines of the prickly pear which General van Cortlandt informed him were used by poor folk instead of pins.

Women seemed absolutely lost without gauze. A high head-dress was a poor thing without it. Money orders and letters, such as lists of articles desired, were given to the masters of privateers, or

to tradesmen setting forth for a capital city. The list would have a score of plain but important articles of dress, often shoes, but it would always end with "3 yards of gaws" — gorz, or goz, or any conceivable or inconceivable spelling of the longed-for article. I have a letter written by a Rhode Island girl to her cousin, the master of a great sloop in the year 1773. It was evident that he, in some way, perhaps by aiding in seizure on the high seas, was in expectation of acquiring some articles of women's dress. She names to him the articles she desires from his stock, a scanty list, however: lutestring "ribands," three yards of scarlet broadcloth; two pair callimanco shoes, two pair prunella shoes, and four yards of gauze. She closes her letter with this sentence: "The shoes can be spaired, if something must be foreborne; or even the broadcloth; but I must have the gauze. I shall be without a Head if you do not send it." The last alarming statement is really very simple; head in those times meant head-dress.

Those years were the season of gauze. Gauze caps, bonnets, aprons, ribbons, and kerchiefs, were natural; but cloaks and gowns of gauze, and flounced gauze petticoats seem not only somewhat frail for wear, but they were made things of ill construction by being trimmed with borders and edgings of chintz and calico. A sacque of blue and white copperplate calico, over a blue gauze petticoat, an apron of furbelowed gauze, straw ribbons, and green morocco slippers — this was a dress described by Mrs. John Adams in 1786.

At this period many cheap imitation jewels and

Mrs. Mercy Warren.

much cheap jewelry was worn with the gauze head-dresses. These jewels were often pretty things, and were worn by folk of great dignity. But people of corresponding position would not wear them to-day. Paste jewels were worn by all; and very handsome they were when set in shoe and knee buckles. These paste buckles we often find set with the imitation crystals and the highly polished forms of iron pyrites. This mineral was sold under the name "marcasite" (spelled also marquaset, marcaset, marcosett, marcassite, marchesite, and many other ways), was used for many ornaments, — ear-rings, pins, necklaces, hair ornaments. Another stone was mocho, known also as mocko, morko, mocus, mocchus; this was the dendritic agate or moss agate.

In a chapter entitled Daughters of Liberty, in my book, *Colonial Dames and Good-wives*, I have recounted at length the banding together of American girls and women in the years just previous to the Revolution in a determination to give up all imports from Great Britain except the necessaries of life.

Mercy Warren wrote to John Winthrop, in fine satire upon this resolution of American women to give up the imports of Great Britain, a list of the articles a woman would deem it imperative to retain for her use.

Patriotic Daughters of Liberty proved amply their ability to abstain from British luxuries; so Mrs. Warren's sneer never stung deeply, and is now dead forever. Her list remains of value, however, because it shows the articles of dress then worn by fashionable women. Each one is described and

defined in my glossary of terms relating to dress, in my book entitled *Costume of Colonial Times*. Mrs. Warren knew well the dress of good society. Her own portrait is in high London taste. She is in the "dressed negligée" of her rhymes. This negligée is of Copley's favorite green blue tint, forming a fine study with a nasturtium-hung background. The Mechlin lace of her full engageants and her skimpy cap is still owned by her descendants. This negligée with its robings will be recognized as similar to the Levite worn by Mrs. Rudd. It is also almost precisely like the sacque worn by Mrs. Montague of Blue Stocking fame in her portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

One of the inconsistencies of the times was the fact that portrait and miniature painting never ceased. In din of war, in time of siege, in lack of funds, almost of food, there were canvas and colors and men with brushes to use them. Copley's father-in-law was a loyalist, and with Copley and his children went to England in 1774, and never returned. But he painted steadily up to the time of his departure. Gilbert Stuart was in England. Trumbull was a soldier, and thus engaged; but he painted a little. John Woolaston was at work; Cosmo Alexander was in Rhode Island in 1772; Durand and Manly were in Virginia; and Smith in New York; Henry Bembridge in the Carolinas. In Philadelphia Matthew Pratt was painting, and James Peale (who painted chiefly miniatures), and Charles Willson Peale, though he was an officer in the army. Some of the latter's best work was done during the

battle-swept years. Rembrandt Peale states that his father was painting a miniature of Washington when news was received of the surrender of Burgoyne.

In 1772 Charles Willson Peale wrote to his friend, Mr. Bordley, from Philadelphia, that he "had in hand one composition of Mr. Cadwalader, Lady and Child in half length which is greatly admired." It is here reproduced.

This painting is not as cold as most of Peale's work; and is a perfect presentation of the dress of the day, in every little detail; not "adjusted," as was often the dress of Copley's sitters. And it also may stand as the dress of the best people; for the Cadwaladers were leaders in Philadelphia social life.

General Cadwalader's daughter Frances married the Secretary to the British Legation, and became Lady Erskine. Her beautiful portrait by Stuart is also reproduced in these pages.

I will quote freely from the diary of Philip Fithian. He was a tutor in 1774 in the home of Robert Carter of "Nomini," a Virginian gentleman of wealth and hospitality, in whose home Fithian met the best of Virginian society. His pages are filled with the doings and sayings of Lees, Carters, Custises, Washingtons, Randolphs, Lanes, Byrds, Hales, and others. Here are some of his descriptions of the dress of Virginians: —

"Thursday, March 3. — Mr. Lane was dressed in black superfine broadcloth, gold-laced hat, laced ruffles, black silk stockings. With his Brooch on his bosom, he wore a Major's badge inscribed, 'Virtue and Silence,' cut in a golden medal. Certainly he was fine!"

"Friday, June 24. — To-day Mr. Christian's dance takes place here. Miss Jenny Washington came also, and Miss Priscilla Hale while we were at breakfast. Miss Washington is about seventeen: She has not a handsome face, but is neat in her Dress, of an agreeable Size, & well proportioned, and has an easy winning Behaviour. She is not forward to begin a conversation, yet when spoken to she is extremely affable, without assuming any Girlish affectation, or pretending to be over-charg'd with Wit. She has but lately had an opportunity for Instruction in Dancing, yet she moves with propriety when she dances a *Minuet*, and without any *Flirts* or vulgar *Capers* when she dances a Reel or Country-dance."

"Her Dress is rich and well-chosen, but not tawdry, nor yet too plain: She appears to-day in a Chintz Cotton Gown with an elegant blue Stamp, a Sky-blue silk Quilt, and spotted, figured Apron. Her hair is a light brown; it was crap'd up, with two rolls at each side, and on the top a small cap of beautiful Gauze and rich Lace, with an artificial flower interwoven."

"Mr. Christian very politely requested me to open the dance by stepping a *Minuet* with this amiable girl. I excused myself by assuring him that I never was taught to Dance. Miss Hale is about fourteen; a slim puny silent Virgin. She has black Eyes, and black Hair, and a good set of Eye-Brows, which are esteemed in Virginia essential to Beauty. She looks innocent of every Human Failing, does not speak five Words in a Week, and I dare say from her Character that her Modesty is Invincible. She is dressed in a white Holland Gown, cotton, Diaper Quilt very fine, a Lawn Apron, has her Hair crap'd up, and on it a small Tuft of Ribbon for a Cap."

Fithian found the governess arrayed in "English dress": —

"Her huge *Stays*, low *Head Dress*, enormous long *Waist*, was a Dress entirely contrary to the liking of Virginia Ladies. Her *Stays* are suited to come up to the upper part of her shoulders, almost to her Chin, and are swaithed around her as low as they possibly can be, allowing her hardly Liberty to walk at all. To be sure this is a *vastly Modest* Dress."

Similar stays were worn by Miss Betsey Lee, a young lady who was getting on in years — she was twenty-five; it had been intimated to Fithian that she would make him a good wife, one with a penny in her pocket, too. He looked her over critically as he would a horse for purchase; *but he did not propose:* —

"She is a well-set Maid of a proper Height neither high nor low. Her aspect when she is sitting is *Masculine* and *Dauntless*. She sits very erect; she places her feet with great propriety; her Hands she lays carelessly in her Lap and never moves them but when she has occasion to adjust some article of her Dress or to perform some exercise with her Fan. She has a full Face, sanguine Complection, her Nose rather protuberant than otherwise; her arms resemble those of Juno. When she has a Bonnet on and walks she is truly elegant: Her Carriage neat and graceful; her Presence soft and beautiful. Her Hair is a dark Brown, which was crap'd up very high & in it she had a Ribbon interwoven with an Artificial Flower. At each of her Ears dangled a Brilliant Jewel. She was pinched up *rather too near* in a pair of new fashioned Stays which, I think, are a Nuisance both to us and themselves. For the late importation of Stays, said now to be most *fashionable* in *London*, are produced upwards so high we can scarce have any view at all of Lady's snowy necks and, on the contrary, they are extended downwards so low that whenever Ladies wear them, either young or old, have occasion to Walk, the

motion necessary for Walking must, I think, cause a disagreeable Friction against the lower edge of the Stays which is so hard and unyielding. I imputed the *Flush* which was visible in her Face, to her being swaithed up, Body, Soul, and Limbs together in her Stays. She wore a light Chintz gown, very fine, with a blue stamp elegantly made, & which set well upon her; a blue silk Quilt: In one word her Dress was rich & fashionable; her Person abstracted from the Embellishments of Dress & Good Breeding, not much handsomer than the Generality of Women."

The mingling of cotton stuffs with silk materials, either gauze, silk or satin, was one of the characteristic fashions of the times. The daughter of General Huntington wrote at this date: —

"I have bought some callico for chints trimmings for old gowns, if you have any that you wish to wear short they are very fashionable at present, & gowns that are trimed with them should be made only to touch the ground, there is enough of the dark stripe for one gown, & enough of the light for one there should be enough white left on the dark stripe to turn down to prevent its *ravelling*. I gave 10 shillings for the callico & have been laughed at for my "foolish bargain" but I am not convinced that it is foolish. The William street merchants ask three shillings a yard for trimmings like the wide stripe & two for the narrow — I guess you will like the narrow."

Through the kind and intelligent helpfulness of families in Baltimore, I have portraits of a group of kinsfolk of the Johnson, Hopkinson, Coale, Duché, and Morgan families, which form a valuable exposition of the dress of people of culture, taste, and ample means of their days. The members of

Ancient Stays.

this cousinry, as Carlyle would call them, form a group of loving intimate folk whose letters are as good to read as their faces are good to see.

These letters and portraits of these vivacious Hopkinson women bring them very near to us; but I wish still more of their words had been preserved; they are like a lively spice in the very dull diet of everyday correspondence which we find in general.

A portrait of the father, Thomas Hopkinson, is given herein; he was a man of importance in the community, a judge. He was born in England, but came to America early in life and married Mary Johnson.

They had a family of children of great intelligence; all were musicians, some were artists — their

descendants are both; the best known was Francis Hopkinson, called "the Signer," from his "signature of honour" on the Declaration of Independence. From their mother they inherited great delicacy of features, which in the men members of the family sometimes became too delicate — as in the case of Francis. President John Adams gives a lively picture of the "Signer": —

"He is liberally educated, a painter and poet. He is one of your pretty little curious ingenious men. His head is not bigger than a large apple. I have not met with anything in natural history more amusing and entertaining than his personal appearance, yet he is genteel and well bred and very social."

Facing this page I present the attractive face of his sister, Mary Hopkinson, who became the wife of Dr. John Morgan, the chief surgeon of the Continental army. She is robed in pink satin, with sable and pearls; and the brown and pink are a color-study. Pink gown, pink flowers, pink ribbon, pink cheeks; brown sable and brown lute, for she carries a lute in her hand, as became a member of a musical race. Her intelligent countenance is more indicative of intellect, perception, and thought than of the vivacity, frankness, and light heartedness which she possessed to a degree. Her proud husband, Dr. Morgan, wrote thus to her mother in 1775 of their journey from Philadelphia to Cambridge to join Washington's army: —

"Had Mrs. Morgan been a princess she might have been received with more pomp and magnificence, but not

Mary Hopkinson Morgan.

Dr. John Morgan. By Angelica Kaufmann.

with a heartier welcome. She is an excellent companion at all times, but, if possible, excels herself in the road. She is full of spirits. Our horses are gentle as lambs, and yet perform most admirably, and we are truly happy that notwithstanding the heavy rain she escaped getting wet. It would delight you to get a glimpse of us now — the Colonel at the violin and she at the harpsichord and singing most sweetly."

Doctor Morgan's portrait is given facing page 724. It is one of the few portraits of Americans painted by Angelica Kauffman. He was a handsome man, and the artist said he was the best-dressed man she had ever known. This tribute has an interest and value in a history of costume, for we may then assume that his dress was in full fashion. A handsome dress it is, exceedingly well cut and well fitting.

Occasionally we have the pleasure of having proof that a portrait is in the true dress of the wearer. Here is an extract from a letter written by Thomas Duché in London to his aunt, Mrs. John Morgan, in Philadelphia. He had studied with Sir Benjamin West and had painted an exquisite portrait of Esther Duché, his sister.

"I have entrusted to the care of Dr. De Normandie the portrait of my sister, which I beg you and my Uncle would accept. I have painted it in her present dress thinking it would be most agreeable. It is generally thought very like. I would not send it without Mr. West's approbation and he is very particular in those of my pictures that are going to Philadelphia. . . .

"Your affectionate
"Nephew,
"T. Duche.

"9th June, 1783."

Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of war we learn of some rich wardrobes. An inventory of the wardrobe of Lord Stirling shows him to have had forty-three pairs of breeches, some being of claret color, scarlet or crimson cloth; some were gold-laced and others were of figured velvet; thirty-one coats, some of white or cinnamon silk, and also coats of cloth of every color; fifty-eight waistcoats, of rainbow hues and rich materials and ornamentation; thirty shirts; a hundred and nineteen pair of hose, mostly silk; fifty-four cravats, twenty pair of boots and shoes; and but two pair of gloves. His head-gear is not named. There must have been other lists with hat and gloves; for gloves were universally worn. We know how punctilious Washington was about them.

The attire of the signers of the Declaration of Independence showed no Republican simplicity. The dress of John Hancock was ever of richest material and striking colors; his scarlet velvet suit is still preserved in the Boston State House, possibly the same he wore when he was declared Governor on October 26, 1780, though by William Pyncheon that was called "a suit of crimson velvet-plain." His dress upon an important occasion when he desired to make an impression, and yet not to appear over-carefully dressed, was thus described: —

"He wore a red velvet cap within which was one of fine linen, the last turned up two or three inches over the lower edge of the velvet. He also wore a blue damask gown lined with velvet, a white stock, a white satin embroidered waistcoat, black satin small-clothes, white silk stockings and red morocco slippers."

Esther Duché.

There is no doubt that the influence of Washington largely helped to promote a love of dignified and fine outward appearance. In a degree Washington's attitude to the new nation as to dress was that of Winthrop to the new country, New England.

Orderly and handsome dress was imperative for men in office and authority, that they and the nation should stand well in the eyes of other peoples, that they should impress the simpler of their own folk.

We find him in 1747, when a lad of fifteen, making this careful note for a tailor: —

"Memorandum. To have my coat made by the following Directions, to be made a Frock with a Lapel Breast. The Lapel to contain on each side six Button Holes & to be about 5 or 6 inches wide all the way equal, & to turn as the Breast on the Coat does, to have it made very long Waisted and in Length to come down to or below the bent of the knee, the Waist from the Armpit to the Fold to be exactly as long or Longer than from thence to the Bottom, not to have more than one fold in the Skirt and the top to be made just to turn in and three Button Holes, the Lapel at the top to turn as the Cape of the Coat and Button to come parallel with the Button Holes and the Last Button Hole on the Breast to be right opposite the Button on the Hip."

We have seen the detailed orders for rich attire which he sent to England for the dress of his wife's children, when they were but six and seven years old. Even after the Revolution certain articles of dress were ordered in London.

Just as he set out to ride to Massachusetts on public duties in 1756, he sent a handsome order to London, for livery for his servants. He wished "2 complete livery suits with a spare cloak, and all other necessary linings for two suits more." "I would have you," he writes, "choose the livery by our arms, only as the field is white, I think the

Martha Washington.

clothes had better be not quite so, but nearly like the enclosed. The trimmings and facings of scarlet, and a scarlet waistcoat. If livery lace is not disused, I should be glad to have the cloaks laced. I like that fashion best and the silver-laced hats." He ordered also handsome "horse-furniture," with crests on the housings; and for his own wear three handsome scarlet sword-knots, and three others of blue and silver, and a fashionable gold-laced hat. His insistence that each article be "fashionable," that he has the very latest modes, appears in every letter in his many years of London orders.

A long letter of Washington's has been preserved, which he wrote to a nephew, George Steptoe Washington. All its pages are worthy of Chesterfield in expression, and far excel that English master of deportment in moral and æsthetic values. His words on dress deserve quotation — and remembrance — by all. I have been told that much heed was paid to them by his young kinsfolk, and profound observance of his wishes: —

"Decency and cleanliness will always be the first objects in the dress of a judicious and sensible man. — A conformity to the prevailing fashion in a certain degree is necessary — but it does not follow from thence that a man should always get a new coat, or other clothes, upon every trifling change in the mode, when, perhaps, he has two or three very good ones by him. — A person who is anxious to be a leader of the fashion, or one of the first to follow it, will certainly appear, in the eyes of judicious men, to have nothing better than a frequent change of dress to recommend him to notice. — I would always wish you

to appear sufficiently decent to entitle you to admission into any company where you may be: — but I cannot too strongly enjoin it upon you — and your own knowledge must convince you of the truth of it — that you should be as little expensive in this respect as you properly can; — you should always keep some clothes to wear to Church, or on particular occasions, which should not be worn every day."

It is strange, perhaps, to find Washington dwelling so much on these superficial things during the solemn days of his vast responsibility and great apprehension, in the early days of the Revolution, and even in the first racking years of the Republic, but great things and petty jostle each other, nay, keep close company, in this strange and small world of ours. On the Fourth of July, 1776, the day whereon Thomas Jefferson signed that great creation in the formation of which his brain had such a part, — the Declaration of Independence; on that ever-to-be-remembered day of days of his whole life, his sole entry in his day-book and in his own "Signer's" hand is this item: "For Seven pair of Womens Gloves, 20 shillings."

Thus does a woman's glove lie lightly, yet close to the tremendous document which changed the fate of nations, yes — of the whole world. I can find no better symbol to illustrate the importance of the subject of this my book.

# CHAPTER XXX

## FIRST YEARS OF NATIONAL LIFE

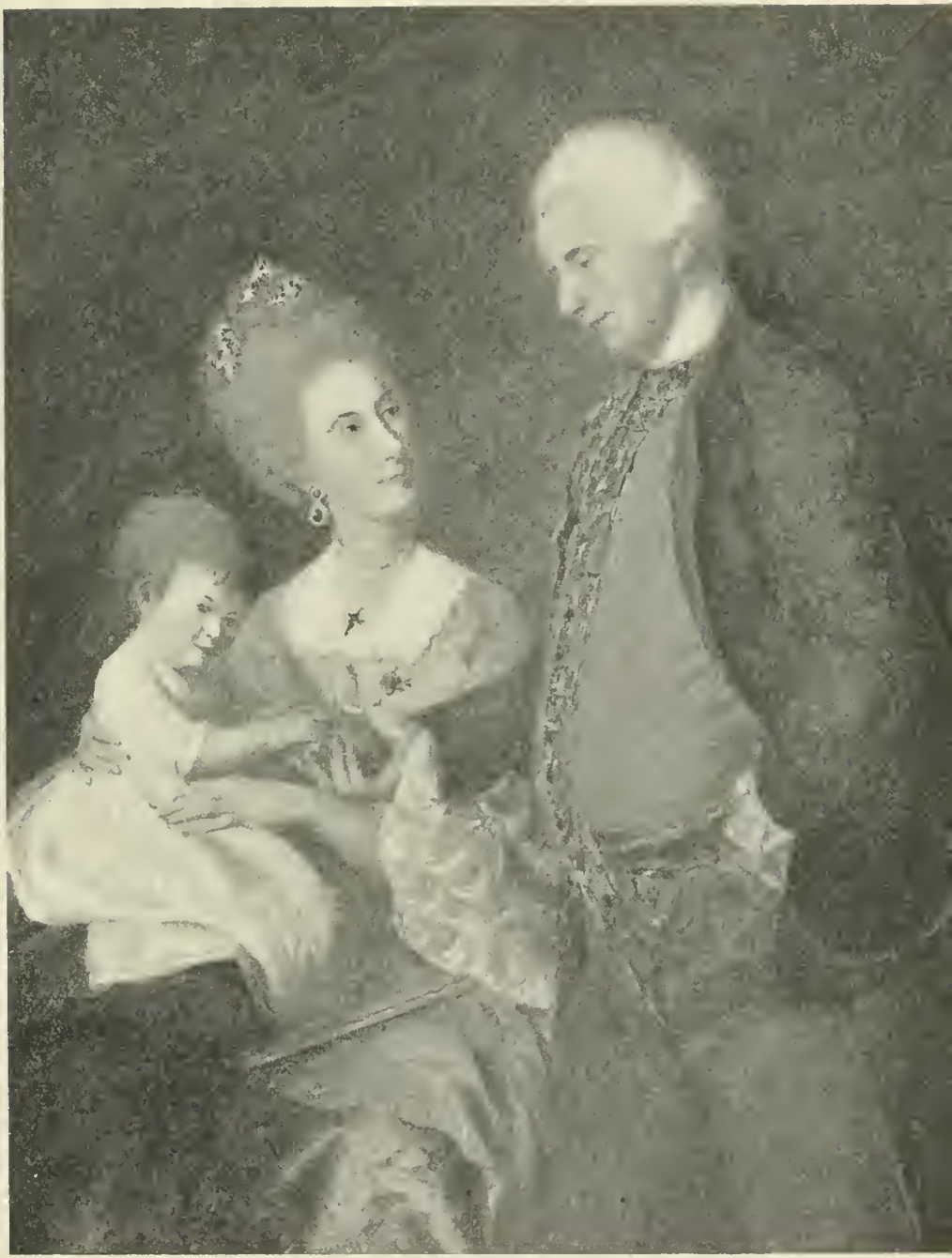
"*I cannot forgive a girl who is not pleased with dress, and does not dress to please.*"

— Dorothy Quincy Hancock, 1780.

"*Lady Teazle: Lud, Sir Peter, would you have me be out of the fashion?*

*Sir Peter: The fashion, indeed! What had you to do with fashion before you married me?*"

"School for Scandal," Sheridan.



General Cadwalader, Wife, and Child.

# CHAPTER XXX

## FIRST YEARS OF NATIONAL LIFE

IN 1784 John Adams was sent by the United States as its first minister to England. Mrs. Adams, keen-sighted, quick-witted, with ready tongue and pen, sent many a record of English and French fashions across seas to her sisters, cousins, and friends, and happily her letters were preserved. It was her testimony, as it was that of other Americans who visited London at that time (and of English folk who visited America), that, with the exception of court functions, dress was less regarded and rich dress less universal in England than America. She writes on July 24, 1784: —

"I am not a little surprised to find dress, unless on public occasions, so little regarded here. The gentlemen are very plainly dressed, the ladies much less so than with us. 'Tis true you must put a hoop on and have your hair dressed, but a common straw hat, no cap, with only a ribbon on the crown is thought sufficient dress to go into company. I have seen many ladies but not one elegant one since I came. There is not that neatness in their appearance which you see in our ladies."

This last statement of Mrs. Adams finds abundant corroboration in the testimony both of French

and English travellers in this country; the one universal subject of their admiration was the neatness, the cleanliness, of American women. I am not surprised that they found them neat. I am surprised that it appeared to them so unusual that they all noted it. I could give a score of examples. I will simply quote a Hessian officer's opinion: —

"They are great admirers of cleanliness, and keep themselves well shod. They friz their hair every day and gather it up on the back of the head into a chignon, at the same time puffing it up in front. They generally walk about with their heads uncovered, and sometimes but not often, wear some light fabric on their hair. Now and then some country nymph has her hair flowing down behind her, braided with a piece of ribbon. Should they go out, even though they be living in a hut, they throw a silk wrap about themselves and put on gloves."

This is not, unfortunately, all he says of American women; he tempers his praise with a decided report of extravagance. He runs on: —

"The daughters keep up their stylish dressing because the mothers desire it. Should the mother die, her last words are to the effect that the daughter must retain control of the father's money-bags. Nearly all articles necessary for the adornment of the female sex are at present either very scarce or dear, and for this reason they are now wearing their Sunday finery."

This accusation of extravagance was too true; a love of dress ran riot in the new nation. It was regarded with serious apprehension by all thoughtful citizens, who saw in it a serious menace to the

Nellie Custis.

establishment of such a social life and such public conditions as had been desired by the nation's founders.

Franklin, economical by nature, plain by choice, and frugal by habit, never ceased his warning words. His own dress could not be plainer, but he endeavored to restrain that of his family. He bade his daughter eschew feathers and to choose calicoes instead of silk. For Washington, who loved fine dress, and had ever worn it, it was harder to preach simplicity; but he bravely wore native-made and home-reared cloth; and his wife wore domestic products, and we find her knitting and netting, weaving cloth at home, using up old materials.

Mrs. Joseph Hopper Nicholson.

Foreign economists were severe in their criticisms. The Count de Rochambeau asserted that the wives of American merchants and bankers were clad to the top of the French fashions. Brissot de Warville deplores it as a great misfortune that in republics, women should sacrifice so much time to "trifles." He says: —

"At Mr. Griffin's house, at dinner, I saw seven or eight women, all dressed in great hats, plumes, etc. It was with

pain that I remarked much of pretension in some of these women; one acted the giddy, vivacious; another the woman of sentiment. This last had many pruderies and grimaces. Two among them had their bosoms very naked. I was scandalized at this indecency among republicans."

Mrs. Adams tells that the extreme of London fashion was "sapphire blue satin waists spangled with silver, and lace down the back and seams with silver, and white satin petticoats trimmed with rows of black and blue velvet ribbons." She described her own dress as a sapphire blue "*demisaison*," trimmed with black lace; a petticoat flounced with crape edged with blue ribbon leaves, and with black velvet ribbon spotted with steel beads; a cap with wreath of blue ribbon, white flowers, a blue feather, and a black feather.

Elizabeth Russell Johnson.

The tightly frizzed hair and a puffed-out fichu, called a buffont, were the only parts of the dress that stood out. This buffont was confined by the bodice

Marcia Burns, of Washington, D.C. Married John Van Ness, M.C. from N.Y.

and puffed out above like the breast of a pouter pigeon. In 1784, in the Salem newspapers, "Thread and Net Buffonts" and "Gauze Buffons" were

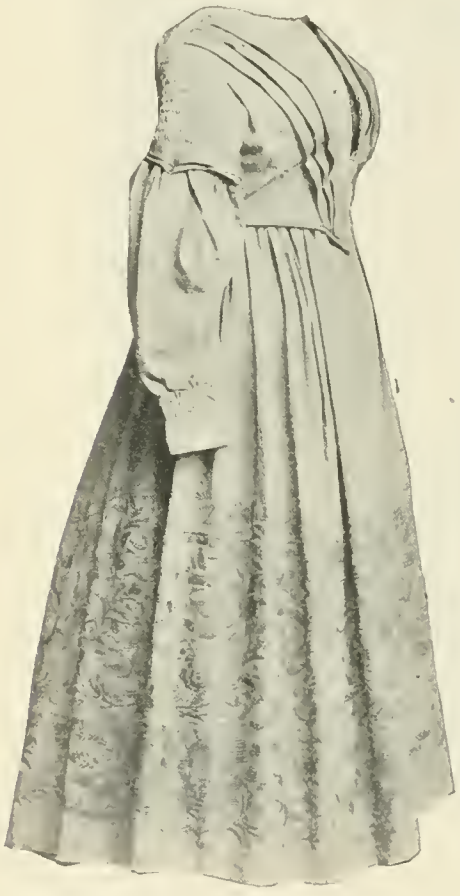
Mrs. Abigail Adams Smith.

advertised. The portrait of Mrs. Adams's daughter, Mrs. Smith, shows a very moderate buffont.

I have seen several breadths and bits of brocade which were worn by Mrs. Adams; all were tasteful and handsome. One had been cut up into covers for pocket-books. One is given on page 495 as a

background for several handsome fans which she owned and carried.

The brocades of these years were very bold in colors and contrasts. I have one with a pink ground with scattered scarlet roses with scant brown foliage and beautiful brown stems; this is intertwined with white roses with curious blue-green stems and foliage. It is a bold combination, and a successful one. A gown of Mrs. John Jay's in the New Haven Historical Society building has white stripes and a scarlet-berried vine on a stripe of purplish pink, a true orchid tint. These striking contrasts were made endurable by the perfection of each tone of color and by the richness of material. A calico in such gay hues would suit only a savage. At one time green morocco shoes were worn with costumes of all colors, which was more endurable than the purple shoes which followed.



Embroidered Plum-colored Crepe.
Worn by Mrs. John Adams.

Mrs. Adams was exceedingly neat and trim in

Mrs. Robert Gilmour.

dress; as exact in that as in other relations of life. She dressed simply in her home, for John Adams was never rich. A gown of hers, worn probably about 1825, is of soft, fine, plum-colored Chinese crape, embroidered in silk, made with great simplicity.

The following account of the Inauguration Ball, given in April, 1789, has been frequently quoted. It was written by a man — one Colonel Stone.

"Few jewels were then worn in the United States; but in other respects, the dresses were rich and beautiful, according to the fashions of the day. One favorite dress was a plain celestial blue satin gown, with a white satin petticoat. On the neck was worn a very large Italian gauze handkerchief, with border stripes of satin. The head-dress was a *pouf* of gauze, in the form of a globe, the *creneaux* or head-piece of which was composed of white satin, having a double wing, in large plaits, and trimmed with a wreath of artificial roses, falling from the left at the top to the right at the bottom, in front, and the reverse behind. The hair was dressed all over in detached curls, four of which, in two ranks, fell on each side of the neck, and were relieved behind by a floating *chignon*. Another beautiful dress was a perriot, made of gray Indian taffeta, with dark stripes of the same color — having two collars, the one yellow, and the other white, both trimmed with a blue silk fringe, and a reverse trimmed in the same manner. Under the perriot was worn a yellow corset or boddice, with large cross stripes of blue. Some of the ladies with this dress wore hats *à l'Espagnole*, of white satin, with a band of the same material placed on the crown, like the wreath of flowers on the head-dress above mentioned. This hat, which, with a plume, was a very popular article of dress, was relieved on the left side,

having two handsome cockades — one of which was at the top, and the other at the bottom. On the neck was worn a very large plain gauze handkerchief, the ends of which were hid under the bodice."

The dress worn by Mrs. Oliver Ellsworth in her portrait in this book is a perriot. It had tight sleeves, and flared open over a petticoat. Sometimes it had lapels and collars, and was much more elaborately trimmed, and had a sacque back.

Colonel Stone noted little jewelry; but bracelets were deemed very elegant, especially when set with miniatures, or locks of hair.

In 1780 Mrs. George Washington wrote to the artist Peale: "I send my miniature pictures to you and request the favour of you to get them set for me. I would have them as bracelets to wear round the wrist. I would have the three set exactly alike and all the same size." One of these may be the very bracelet seen upon her friend Mrs. Morris's wrist. A number of Peale's oil portraits — that of Mrs. Walter Stewart, for instance (on page 589) — show the sitter wearing similar bracelets.

I must not fail to speak of the dress of college undergraduates; and I will give Harvard as an example. They were under as stiff control as are boys in our great public schools like Saint Paul, Groton, and Andover to-day. In less than twenty years after Harvard College was founded these rules were prescribed.

"No Schollar shal goe out of his chamber without a Gown, Cloak, or Coat; and everyone everywhere shal were modest and sober Habits, without strange, ruffian-like,

or new-fangled fashions, without all lavish Dress, or excess of Apparel whatsoever, nor shal wear any Gold or Silver or jewels without the just permission of the Precident, nor shal it be permitted to wear Long Haire, Locks, Foretops, Curlings, Crispings, Partings, or Powderings of ye Haire."

The Oxford gown was always in favor with the governing body as dress for "publick occasions." At varying intervals strict rules were made; but considerable latitude was given the graduating class in 1748, where one of the Sirs appeared in a rich suit of satin and velvet. In 1784 the coat could be blue gray; the waistcoat could be black, nankeen, or olive green. Freshmen must then wear plain buttonholes; juniors might wear inexpensive frogs but not on their cuffs; the senior was glorious in buttonholes, buttons and frogs *ad libitum*. For many years all decorations of gold and silver lace, cord or edging on hats or waistcoats were fined; in 1816 the fine was not more than $1.60 nor less than thirty cents for each offence.

A century ago a nightgown was permitted except on "the Sabbath, on exhibition, or on other occasions where undress would be improper" — this last rule as late as 1822.

The student's necktie must be black or white — what a trial! — his hat or cap black also; and black shoes and boots must be worn. A senior might wear mourning if necessary. It is interesting to read that in 1768, in Liberty Days, the whole class graduated in homespun and home-made suits — that they might "take their degrees dressed in the manufactures of the country."

# CHAPTER XXXI

## THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

"*In your apparel be modest, and endeavor to accommodate nature rather than procure admiration. Keep to the fashion of your equals, such as are civil and orderly with respect to time and place.*

"*Play not the peacock, looking everywhere about you to see if you be well decked, if your shoes fit well, if your stockings sit neatly, and clothes handsomely.*"

—"Rules of Courtesy and Decency of Behaviour,"
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

# CHAPTER XXXI

## THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

IT is well to recall a few of the important conditions and events of the year 1800, as they have a bearing on social life; and their influence is seen in details of costume. In fact, if ever events controlled costume, they did at this turn of the century. It was not a time of elegance or of high-minded and great aims; and life was reflected in dress, which was insignificant.

Rose Bertin and her tirewomen and sempstresses had left France, and were in London. This wonderful woman for years swayed the modes in Paris to a degree wholly unknown in any other person, time, or place in the history of costume. She brought French fashions to England; curiously also through her stay French fashions showed English influences.

It is interesting to read in French histories of dress while Franklin was so popular in the court that "everything American became the vogue." I cannot discover, however, that any "American fashions" were really copied; though straw hats seem to have been regarded as American.

There was a certain tempering of French institution through American ideas. American books were translated into French, not only the writings of Thomas Paine, but political treatises and patriotic poems. Plays with American characters were popular in France. Paine had become a citizen of France; and Franklin's long sojourn there made his name a household word among Frenchmen; at his death public mourning was worn. The Order of the Cincinnati had many Frenchmen enrolled, Frenchmen of great names.

Colonel Brown.

To show the reflex influences at this time we can cite the cockade. Cockades had been, like everything else, originally a French fashion. We have seen them adopted as an important part of the uniform by the Continental army. In turn, Desmoulins, early in the French Revolution, urged France to follow America in adopting a significant and widely worn cockade, the tricolor. When at the turn of the century French influences became so powerful in America, this tricolor French cockade became part of the dress of American citizen and citizeness. In opposition the black cockade of the

soldiers of the American Revolution was seized eagerly in 1798 as the symbol of the Federalists.

In America, at this turn of the century, matters seemed in a pretty bad way; the rage for gambling

Mrs. James Monroe.

and the prevalence of lotteries had had a blasting effect; speculation and jobbery had become regular trades. Many came to doubt the wisdom of separation from England. The yellow fever had afflicted the seaports for years, and lessened their commerce, already subjected to one benumbing em-

bargo, and soon to be by another. American ships were preyed upon and pillaged on the high seas by ships of all nations; ship-masters and ship-owners were desperate. The shocking and universal prevalence of duelling alarmed all thoughtful folk; it appeared to timid folk that all the really great statesmen, soldiers, lawyers, gentlemen, would kill off each other. And a great sadness had come to all in the death of Washington at the close of the year; he died in December, 1799.

St. George Tucker.

Every American was asked to wear a badge of crape; nearly all did so. Dwellings were hung in black; newspapers were black bordered. The bells tolled dismally and long in every town. I have seen mourning-badges, cockades, collarettes, sashes, belts, slippers, and gloves which were worn after Washington's death. Mourning-handkerchiefs stamped with his portrait and bearing words of his virtues were sold in large numbers. "Funeral pieces" in memory of him appeared in china, glass, leather, marble, brass, bronze, pewter, paper, cloth, wood, with emblems and words of patriotic grief.

Oliver Ellsworth and Wife.

We have in America an unusual record of certain details of costume at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. It is not a depiction of the entire costume — it is the indoor wear only, and the head and shoulders only; but it is of both men and women. It comes to us through the eight hundred and more likenesses of Americans by Saint Memin, which have been preserved for us in a collection. Let me relate the story of these portraits.

Walter Ormsby.

A French artist, Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint Memin, and his father Étienne, French refugees, men of birth and education, came to America in 1797. They had passed through great vicissitudes in France, having turned a hand at many trades besides those of soldier, artist, and gentleman; and they had had to fly. After sore straits and short commons in many American towns and at last in New York, the younger Saint Memin, having distinct mechanical skill, constructed a machine, the like of which had been the mode in France since 1786 — a machine for taking a portrait, a "physionotrace"; by it an exact profile of the sitter could be made, life size. By another machine, called a pantograph, this perfect profile could be reduced to any size. This reduced profile Saint Memin then engraved on copper, filling in the outline with shading and added lines of likeness, using another machine of his invention, a roller, for the

shading. So constant was the industry of Saint Memin, so deft his hand, that he was able to sell, and at profit, the original drawing (which was life size) in black crayon on red paper neatly framed, the copper plate of reduced size, and twelve prints from this plate, all for $33.

Saint Memin spent two years in New York; thence in 1798 to Burlington; to Philadelphia in 1803; to Baltimore in 1804; then in 1808 to Richmond and Norfolk. In 1809 he fared to Charleston; again to New York in 1810. These dates of his wanderings afford probable dates of the execution of the various profiles. In all these cities sitters were plentiful, and welcome was warm. When he left America in 1814, he carried to France with him a record of all the portraits he had taken, and a copy of the plates, each with a name and number; many with a date of execution.

Saint Memin died in 1850, and a Mr. Robertson bought all his plates and brought them to New York and placed them on exhibition and sale. In the passing years many individuals and families had lost their plates and prints by various accidents. Some had a print, but had forgotten or lost the name of the sitter; so the display of these several hundred pictures of the aristocracy of the early years of the century was, as one wrote at the time, "like the resurrection of the dead." It is easy to imagine the glad recognition, the infinite sentiment, which came through the return of these pictures to America. In 1850 persons living still remembered the face of their grandparents of 1800, and rejoiced

C. S. Konig.
L. Triplett.

T. Edlitz.
Guy L. Trigg.

in a new possession of their portraits. But it is not this view of the pictures which makes them memorable to us; it is that they afford a perfect record of the dress of head and shoulders of folk of that day; for all are what was then termed "in busto," and of

the same size, a perfect circle a trifle over two inches in diameter. All save two are in profile.

None of the men wear hats. In the first five years they wear their hair powdered in various-shaped cues and loops and braids and twists as to the back hair, in curls as to the front; and some wear wigs.

It is often difficult to discern in these portraits whether the natural hair is dressed to imitate a wig, or the wig designed to appear like natural hair. A lock of thick, false hair could be tied with the natural hair to increase the thickness of the cue, which was often turned up in a loop. Sometimes it was braided and turned up like the Cadogan braid worn recently by women.

When the natural hair was carefully "buckled" in a neat, trim roll, and shaped on the forehead advantageously to the contour of the face; when it was kept in trim order and neatly powdered, it was a beautiful and becoming mode of dressing men's hair; far more elegant and more becoming than our modern tight clippings. In this form, if unpowdered, I deem it the very handsomest shape of masculine hair-dressing ever known. Its beauty and fitness are shown on the head of Washington; and to fullest extent in the portrait of Major André, given on page 700. Of course all men are not as handsome as André, but many would be much handsomer were their hair dressed as his is.

The later prints of Saint Memin show natural hair, much longer than it is worn to-day, and as dishevelled as a foot-ball player's, yet studiously so:

the curls at the side brought carefully forward as shown upon Washington Allston and others in these pages. These heads *à la Brutus*, or *à la Titus*, "like a frightened owl," seemed rude enough after the great stately periwigs or Washington's cue and powder and ribbon. Another style of hair-cutting seen on young American pates was *en oreilles de chien*, such as was worn by General Bonaparte at the time of the Italian campaign; the hair "banged" at the eyebrows straight across, and left long at the sides to cover the ears. Exact likeness is claimed for these Saint Memin portraits; but I wish to call attention to one marked characteristic which I regard with suspicion. In the whole six hundred male portraits, but *one* displays a distinctly bald head. "Maddison" is thus stigmatized. One other old gentleman has a thinly thatched pate; the others all have abundant locks. Can this have been a true record? If so, what a cruel change has a century brought. The pictures of six hundred prominent men of these cities to-day, of the ages of Saint Memin's sitters, would display at least nine-tenths with bald heads. Those Saint Memin portraits would be one testi-

F. Beale.

mony to the truth of the notion that baldness comes from close cropping the hair; for these eighteenth-century men had all worn long hair; hair infrequent of clipping or cutting.

French influences are plainly seen in the shape of the details of men's attire in these Saint Memin

Washington Allston in Youth.

portraits. Examine French portraits of the period; look, for instance, at the familiar portrait of Robespierre; look at the dress of the Incroyables. They were the Republicans of France — so they asserted. Their aim was extremity of dress. They wore the highest collars, the biggest puffed cravats, the heaviest sticks, and deemed these fashions so English. You can see readily from whence came the high-collared coats and choking neck-cloths which

surrounded the gasping throats of these sturdy American Republicans. The thin throats and necks of Frenchmen were better fitted for this attire than the stout towers and double chins of Americans. A strangely supercilious look is seen on many of these Saint Memin likenesses; the head is held like a camel's, with lip and chin high in the air. Judge not the fathers for this demeanor; they really did not mean to be proud; they carried nose and chin high because they couldn't help it; the swaddling bands of cambric and lawn, the "pudding," forced them into that carriage.

Southey says in his *Commonplace Book* that "pudding-cravatts" were invented originally by some one to hide a poulticed throat. So desirable was a large-chested effect that coats were padded to that appearance, and several waistcoats were worn at the same time.

By 1809 we find a stiff standing collar (called a dicky in New England) on the necks of all men, worn with or without the full pudding cravat. The shirt-frill still continued to be worn. I have portraits wherein a full finely-pleated shirt-frill, a jabot-shaped chitterling, a pudding cravat, and a dicky can be seen on one unfortunate wearer. When the waistcoat stood up fiercely outside this wear, and an ear-high coat-collar was a wall over all, no wonder men complained that they could not turn their heads or move their necks a half a degree. It seems to me a period of exceptional discomfort for men.

One coat which was very fashionable had long, narrow tails which were twice as long as the waist

portion, which had two rows each of nineteen brilliant buttons. The coat was named "Jean de Bry," for a French statesman. Morning and evening coats were shaped exactly alike till 1830, when a frock-coat was evolved. Overcoats had fur collars, full skirts, and very tight bodies. In 1832 many men wore a picturesque Polish cloak with double cape. The year 1800 saw the invention and introduction of rights and lefts in shoes by the fashionable bootmaker William Young of Philadelphia. He advertises these varieties of foot-gear in the *Aurora* of 1801: "Plover and snipe toes, cock and hen toes, goose and gander toes, gosling toes, hog and bear snouts, ox and cow mouths, shovel and stick nose, and others too tedious to mention: Suwarrows, Cossacks, hussars, Carrios, double-tongues, Bonapartes, greaves, fire-buckets, Swiss hunting, full-dress, walking, York."

Mrs. Bell.

This year shoe-blacking and polish were first introduced. Ere that "blackball" had been used, made of lamp-black, suet, and tallow, or "dubbing." This greasy mixture ruined ladies' petticoats in dancing.

I have alluded to Eliza Southgate's letters. We

Mrs. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

have in them many descriptions of the dress worn by Saint Memin's sitters, for it was in that circle of New York life that the short married years of this fair young girl were spent. She was a lovely, gentle girl, born in Portland, of New England gentlefolk; going to well-known schools in Massachusetts, visiting the best people; leading a happy, natural life, which she told in a happy, natural way in her letters. On a driving tour to Saratoga, in the year 1798, she met Walter Bowne, a member of an influential and wealthy family of New York and Flushing; and soon she was married to him. She died when but twenty-four years old. Her letters, preserved sacredly by her daughter, were published in the year 1870 through the affection of a loving and worthy custodian, the late Mrs. Walter Bowne Lawrence of Flushing, Long Island. After their publication Mrs. Lawrence gave me a copy of a miniature of Eliza Southgate which is not in the published book. It is shown on this page. In it the pretty girl wears the wig to which she refers in her letters.

Eliza Southgate Bowne.

A pretty mode, seen in Madam Scott's portrait and others by Copley and Stuart, has a high band of gauze or a ruche around the bare neck. This with a very low gown has a most charming effect, becoming to old and young, especially to elderly women, who thus covered the ugly first lines of old age, shown ever under the chin. Mrs. Madison's portrait, painted in old age, proves her shrewd attention to this fact. A fashion note of the year 1805 reads thus: —

Mrs. James Bowdoin. By Gilbert Stuart.

"Ruffs are much worn. They are narrower, but instead of two or three falls of lace or worked muslin, our elegantes now wear six or seven. The effect is really ridiculous; but they are fashionable, and a French woman considers nothing unbecoming or absurd that is tonish. The double fall of lace at the wrist has disappeared."

This fine portrait of Mrs. James Bowdoin shows one of these double ruffs. As the short-waisted gown was then very plain, this elaborate ruff was an agreeable addition to its simplicity.

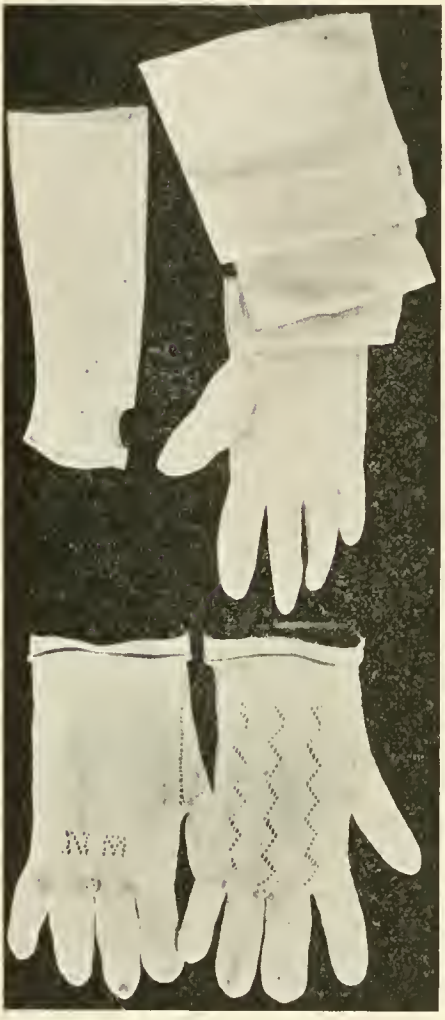
Peggy Dow.

Lorenzo Dow.

In a single entry in a newspaper of the year 1801, namely: "Perkale and Linen Gloves," is a clew to a detail of fashion which was most strongly accented about the year 1815. I mean the covering of the hand. The cuffs of men's coats hung over the tips of their fingers; the sleeves of women's gowns did likewise. Often long detached sleeves were finished at the hand in a sort of mitt. As early as 1770 linen gloves had been worn, long gloves like sleeves reaching to the shoulder and cut at the hand to leave only the finger-tips exposed; these sometimes were of kid; a pair of plum-colored embroidered kid mitts is given which were worn by Mrs. Robbins, the mother of Caria Robbins. Young girls had glove-bees; they met and cut out and made gloves together. A favorite material for these mitts for children's wear was of nankeen. These were tied to the short sleeves of the calico dress, or the spencer. Often these were matched with nankeen pantalets. Stiffly starched for fresh Sunday wear, these clean nankeen or linen mitts must have been trying indeed to a child during the long hours of a New England Sabbath service on a hot summer day.

Bolivar Hat.

These sleeves were never so long, however, as the deep cuffs of the sixteenth century given by Viollet-



Home-made Linen and Wool Gloves.

le-Duc — cuffs which hung down fourteen inches longer than the hand, thus proving that the wearer never worked.

Eliza Southgate Bowne bore testimony as to these mitts of her day. She wrote in 1803: —

"Long sleeves are very much worn, made like mitts; crosswise, only one seam and that in the back of the arm, and a half-drawn sleeve over and a close, very short one up high, drawn up with a cord."

Peter Parley says the women of 1801 wore gowns "close and short-waisted, the breast and shoulder being covered by a full muslin kerchief. Girls ornamented themselves with a large white Vandyke."

We have many portraits of the gowns of these wearers, both simple and rich; those of the eccentric preacher Lorenzo Dow and his wife Peggy are as good examples of everyday country dress as could be given.

# CHAPTER XXXII

## THE EVOLUTION OF PANTALOONS AND PANTALETS

"*Time was when clothing sumptuous or for use*
*Save their own painted skins, our sons had none.*
*As yet black breeches were not; satin smooth*
*Or velvet soft, or plush with shaggy pile.*"

—"The Task," WILLIAM COWPER.

# CHAPTER XXXII

## THE EVOLUTION OF PANTALOONS AND PANTALETS

HEN the first settlers came to Virginia and New England, Englishmen's nether garments were in the last stages of a great transformation. The doublet and hose of Tudor times were being laid aside for knee-breeches and stockings. For nearly two hundred years these small-clothes continued to be men's universal wear until, with the closing years of the eighteenth century, trousers became the important question of costume; in the nineteenth century they were adopted. In broad classification we may give the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the wear of breeches, and the nineteenth to trousers.

The assumption of both breeches and trousers met with violent opposition; the first bombasted breeches of the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth were so extreme that I cannot wonder they were hated, and that good, sensible, old English gentlemen regarded the dignified gown with long hose as far more suitable and decorous wear.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the ancient Britons, the Anglo-Saxons, and Danes had worn trousers, or something they deemed trousers. I

would a London tailor of to-day could behold a pair of them.

The celebrated Bayeux tapestry shows us these ancient trousers; some reaching to the knee, and others to the ankles — the latter held with cross-bandaging. Unshapely as they were, they made an attire of courtly elegance compared with the dress of the rich Irish gentlemen of that day — and indeed for centuries later. Portraits of Irish soldiers and noblemen in full armor with rich buff-coats reaching not halfway to the knees, and with legs and feet absolutely bare, afford a caricature far more ridiculous than any limner could have imagined — the head and shoulders rich in steel and velvet, the feet squalid in dirt.

Thomas Teach, the Pirate.
Blackbeard.

At all times some form of trousers had been known and worn by English workingmen. Laborers in the fields, workers on plantations in America, wore what were known in colonial days as skilts and tongs. They were of coarse tow, and in the Southern states of "negro cloth," or "native-cloth," or "Virginia tow."

In *Margaret*, written by Sylvester Judd, we read of a period previous to the Revolution: —

"The boys were dressed in tongs, a name for pantaloons or overalls that had come into use."

"They wore checked shirts and a sort of brown trousers known as skilts. These were short, reaching just below the knee, and very large, being a full half yard broad at the bottom; and without braces or gallows were kept up by the hips, sailor fashion."

It is plain that these skilts or tongs were the universal wear of farmers in hot weather. Tight breeches were ill adapted for farm work. John Adams, writing in 1774, in depression of spirits over the lingering war says, "A frock and trousers, spade and hoe, will do for my remaining days. I am melancholy and anxious."

The Sailor and his Sweetheart.

Sailors wore trousers, wide like "petticoat-breeches"; these reached to the knee. I give a copy of the print of the pirate Thomas Teach, or Blackbeard, dated 1736, with a bare-footed trousered sailor in the

background. Blackbeard is really as ideal a pirate as ever scuttled ship; with his score of pistols festooned in fringes around him, his burning match serving as a band for his Monmouth cap, and great blunderbuss in hand. His beard, too, is a perfect forest of horrors in itself. Another trousered sailor kisses his sweetheart, who wears a "Duke of York's nightcap."

Though so recent an event, scarce more than a century ago, the assumption of trousers for general wear has a vague history. With the constant ribaldry and newspaper jesting which we daily hear and read, that women are striving to capture that article of dress, now held to be so distinctly masculine, it is somewhat amusing to be told by careful students that trousers were first assumed for general wear, not by men, but by women. This was in France during the Reign of Terror. Distinction of the sexes in dress was to be put aside by these reformers, as were distinctions in dress to indicate birth and rank and wealth. Trousers were welcomed as an article agreeable to the notions of these female revolutionary creatures, and proper for their wear.

This may be untrue, but it certainly is a fact that women began to wear drawers, and called them trousers, at the same time that men assumed trousers. Old men of courtly tastes clung closely to knee-breeches, and deemed trousers careless, inelegant, and vulgar. Old ladies had a similar horror of drawers, and never wore them. Little girls first put on pantalets for general wear, and naturally they

Adolphus Leffingwell, aged Fourteen Years. About 1815.

continued to wear them when grown. Little boys, as shown by the boys in the portraits of the Stoddert and Jay children (both given in this chapter), were wearing trousers before their fathers and grandfathers had adopted them wholly. As early as 1785 the leaving off knee-buckles and lengthening of knee-breeches was the advance note of a change. The breeches were buttoned below the knee or tied with strings, and soon were called pantaloons. These were generally worn in France, and were copied in America. They were ugly beyond belief. I do not like to think that any woman, even a woman of the French Revolution, ever wore them. They were loose, straight in leg, clumsy at the waist, reaching but little below the calf, and sometimes slit up several inches at the bottom on the outer side of the leg — a very ugly mode. You may see them in French fashion-plates of the year 1797.

While stockings were largely visible in masculine dress they were, as we have seen, objects of cost, of care and pride. With the short pantaloons, striped yarn stockings of the French mode were affected. The new trousers went through many mutations of cut and shape — sometimes closely fitted and called tights, sometimes baggy. Then they were funnel shaped at the ankle, then tight at the ankle only. They were pleated at the waist and side into an absurd fulness, and even had tucks around the bottom. An old chronicler tells of his first dress pantaloons: "The pantaloons, over which I wore boots, were of non-elastic corduroy. It would be unjust to the tailor to say that they fitted like my

skin, for they sat a great deal closer. When I took them off my legs were like fluted pillars grooved with the cords of the pantaloons."

From 1802 through 1809 trousers were loose and wide and short, reaching scarcely to the ankle. This mode was broken in the year 1810 by a garment

Playing Golf. 1810.

like a continuation of hose and garter which was buttoned on the outside of the leg from the waist to the ankle. An old Quaker preacher, named Jonathan Kirkbride, born in 1739, lived to advanced age; he put on trousers with great reluctance, and complained that they "felt so slawny" flapping around his ankles; this excellent descriptive word,

doubtless, voiced the sentiments of many an old gentleman when he gave up small-clothes.

The extraordinary influx of Oriental fabrics into this country, caused by the sudden growth and prosperity of the East Indian trade, was shown distinctly in men's apparel in the wear of nankeen. In one year over $1,000,000 worth of yellow nankeen came to the United States. Nearly all of it was made into trousers, which were worn in summer and winter alike by old and young. They were the constant wear of General Lafayette on his trip through this country in 1824, as may be seen in his portrait in the closing chapter of this volume, and were worn by all our early presidents, often on formal occasions.

Pantaloons and gaiters were made "all in one" in 1810, especially when of nankeen, and were permitted in full dress; while in 1807 nankeen breeches with silk knee-strings were the only evening breeches.

In full-dress assemblies, in polite society, knee-breeches were worn for some years after trousers were everywhere seen on the streets. To enforce this regulation the somewhat startling notice was placed upon the entrance to an assembly hall, "Gentlemen will not be permitted to dance without breeches." In 1814 the Duke of Wellington presented himself at the door of the ballroom at Almack's, and his entrance was barred by an official, who said, "Your Grace cannot be admitted in trousers." The duke, being thus attired, quietly left the building.

I have said in earlier pages in this book that a knowledge of the general history of America was necessary to comprehend the meaning, or explain

the importance, of various articles of dress; never was a time when knowledge of history was so necessary in order to comprehend fully the significance of dress as at this period in American history — in the opening years of the nineteenth century.

Dress was then more than a question of taste or fancy or convenience; in fact, it was not in America a question of taste or convenience at all, it was a question of belief, of deep conviction, of political opinion. A man's standing in politics was judged by his nether garments. It was said, complainingly, in American political circles that after the fall of the Bastille every Republican had to dress like a Frenchman — willy-nilly — and every Federalist like an Englishman. If you were a Republican and opposed the administration, you had to tangle your hair in rough locks drawn forward wildly over your forehead, "as if you had been fighting a hurricane backward," and to wear tight pantaloons to the calf of the leg. Wearing knee-breeches and buckled shoes proved that you were an old fogy of a Federalist.

It was not surprising to the Federalists to see Thomas Jefferson discard knee-breeches and shoe-buckles; what could be expected of a Democrat? an atheist? It was the trick of a demagogue to secure the favor of the mob! But he would not wear pantaloons long with *his* shapely legs! But year after year found him in flapping pantaloons and leather shoe-strings, which seem to have been as offensive almost to the Federalists as were the pantaloons.

In 1817 James Monroe became President of the United States. He was a dignified gentleman of

Boy's Tunic and Trousers. 1810.

"the Virginia Dynasty"; his wife was the first mistress of the White House who succeeded in enforcing etiquette in dress and carriage at the President's receptions. A near relative of her own was refused admission because he came not in the decreed small-clothes and silken hose — this, too, when pantaloons and shoe-strings were seen everywhere save at these receptions. She was a stately woman, garbed usually in velvet, with neck and arms bare, and hair dressed high with feathers, or with a turban, as shown in this book. Mr. Monroe was one of the last of the "cocked hats." He sturdily wore the old-time small-clothes till his death — the last man in public life in Washington who dressed thus.

The innovation of French dress, its folly, its extravagance, was a source of much head-shaking and prophesying of evil by lovers of the good old times; the lamentations of the fearful, the raillery of the scornful, the exhortations of the pious, all made special assault on pantaloons. With French dress, they asserted, were sure to come French ideas and French beliefs, or, worse still, French unbeliefs, — so mourned the children of the Puritans.

French "conspiracies," French infidelity, French anarchy, and French "pyrotechny" were darkly hinted at. The massacre of a whole ship-load of American citizens terrified every one, but existed only in imagination. Perhaps the only thing that was real in the list of French influences and invasions were the pantaloons, — yes, and the pantalets, for the two garments walked literally into American life side by side.

A few years ago, a well-known author, engaged upon an historical novel, wrote me this letter of a single line, "What did women wear in the year 1765, from the skin up?" I answered him at some length, to receive a second letter, "You do not speak of drawers." I in return wrote, "I did not speak of drawers, because they did not wear drawers." Much misapprehension exists about the wear of these now universal undergarments for men and women. Those who desire to read in fulness a discussion upon the subject can turn to *Notes and Queries* for the year 1888, when T. Adolphus Trollope, George Augustus Sala, and other well-known gentlemen and a few ladies give ample pages and full elucidation and illumination to the subject.

In *Lady Chesterfield's Letters to her Daughters* is this sentence, written in the middle of the nineteenth century: —

> "I have worn skirts that dragged on the ground, and skirts that ended one inch above my ankles, showing the vandyked or frilled edges of those comfortable garments which we have borrowed from the other sex, and which all of us wear and none of us talk about."

So true is the last clause of this statement that after the first edition of the "Lady Chesterfield" book, the transcription given above was omitted.

We have noted that calençons had been worn by French women for riding on horseback; and Mrs. John Adams wrote from Paris in 1785 of ballet-dancers in gauze, with gauze petticoats "as perfectly showing their garters and drawers as though no pet-

ticoats had been worn" — these are her words. The early dislike of drawers was held by some to be from association with the dress of "opera-dancers," a class of persons proverbially, though doubtless in many cases unjustly, of ill-repute. Though I have never seen any entry of drawers in any seventeenth-century list of women's garments in America (and I have examined scores, yes, hundreds, of these inventories), I am surprised to find several explicit references to their wear by Mrs. Pepys in the pages of Pepys's *Diary*, in the year 1663, in the month of May. This is the only allusion I have seen to these articles for women's wear until the opera-dancing days over a century later, and I note it as difficult of explanation.

The year 1800 can be set as the time when what were called "women's trousers" first were worn to any extent. Their adoption was brought about by the conditions of women's dress at the time, especially the transparence of the Indian stuffs employed. A caricature of Gillray's (June 25, 1799) displays even the garters through the thin, narrow, gauze petticoat. Wright's *Caricature History of the Georges* will give you, in caricature, yet in the main in truth, the conditions of dress which then existed.

From fashion-magazines of the early years of the nineteenth century I have gathered a few allusions, which all show pantalets for women's wear were a distinct novelty. *La Belle Assemblée*, June, 1806, says:—

"Pantaloons of corded cambric, trimmed round the bottom with lace or fine muslin made their appearance on ladies in the Gardens last Sunday."

A month later the July number of this magazine adds: —

"The pantaloons will have but a short run; being truly ungraceful."

In November the fashion-monger writes: —

"A few of our haut ton have adopted the short frock and the trowsers of the same texture edged with lace. This dress is much too singular to be general. A singular She made her entree at breakfast in a frock of French cambric scarcely reaching below the calf of her leg, with trowsers of the same, at the bottom of which was a broad French lace."

In the year 1811, in Parisian and English fashion-plates, full ball dresses with pantalets are pictured. I copy an "evening dress" of that year. Long, pink satin trousers to the ankle are edged with three ruches of white and pink. Over these, reaching only to the knee, a scant pink satin "chemise-dress," short, edged with the same ruches. The head has an evening array of lace cap which looks like a night-cap. This whole dress seems like a night-dress and looks like an unutterable and grotesque caricature; as absurd for a ball dress as to wear pajamas. The very best of these pantaletted dresses were more ridiculous than a ready-made English bathing-suit at a cheap watering-place.

In July, 1818, a fashionable evening dress was thus described: —

"A blue silk petticoat sufficiently short to display a pair of white satin trousers, finished at the bottom with blue

Evening Dress. 1811.

silk fringe and made very loose. At the bottom of the petticoat was a large rouleau of white satin stiffened in such a manner as to keep it from clinging to the figure. The corsage of white satin was cut low as possible round the bust and ornamented with a narrow fancy trimming. The sleeves, if sleeves they might be called, which scarcely covered the top of the shoulders, were of tulle over white satin. A narrow cestus of lace folded in front by a diamond clasp. If the trousers were omitted and the bosom and arms less exposed the dress would have been truly elegant."

Madame de Beauharnais is described in the year 1807 as having discarded petticoats and put on flesh-colored satin drawers under her clear India muslin and mull gowns.

As the years bring us into the century we find the pantalet plainly in evidence in art. The *Children of the Nobility*, engraved in 1839, gives us many examples. Landseer's charming *Miss Blanche Egerton* also displays them. In the pages of John Leech they appear both on children and young women. I remember a delightful French picture of a ball, by David, wherein the dangling pantalets permit only the veriest tips of the slippers to be seen.

In 1821 the *Lady's Magazine* says that "female children" all wore, in winter, pantaloons of merino with short petticoats. In summer they wore pantaloons of white dimity or colored calico.

These pantaloons for girls' wear were soon called pantalets. They were, at first, only loose flapping frills tied on with drawing-strings below the knee, and hanging over the foot. Untidy things they

were. The strings were always breaking or slipping down to the ankle and letting the whole frill draggle under foot; or they unfastened wholly, and had to be placed in a reticule until the child could retire and tie them in place again. The upper part of the garment was finally added to keep these troublesome knee-frills in place.

I have an amusing letter from the young mother of a little girl of eight, written in 1820. Both had begun to wear pantalets, — were forced to do so by fashion. In order to keep the child clad in clean attire, the mother had put upon her, in one week, fifteen pairs of freshly ironed pantalets. Of these, Myrtilla had wholly lost three pairs and an odd one, and a dog had torn off and chewed up another frill. The mother had worn eight pairs, and had only been thus moderate in number because one pair was of blue and brown checked gingham; she writes: —

"They are the ugliest things I ever saw; I will never put them on again. I dragged my dress in the dirt for fear some one would spy them. The gingham I had in the house. My finest dimity pair, with real Swiss lace, is quite useless to me, for I lost off one leg, and did not deem it proper to pick it up, so walked off, leaving it on the street behind me, and the lace was six shillings a yard. I saw that mean Mrs. Spring wearing it last week for a tucker. I told her it was mine, and showed her the mate, but she said she hemmed and made it herself — the bold thing. I hope there will be a short wear of these horrid pantalets; they are too trying. Of course, I must wear them now, for I cannot hold up my dress and show my stockings; no one does. My help says she won't stay if she has to wash

The Osgood Children. About 1820.

more than seven pair a week for Myrtilla, and I feel real low-spirited about it. Her legs are so thin she can't keep her pantalets up. I am almost ready, after all my trouble in making them, to take them off, and make her dresses longer and let her stockings show; but she will look so dowdy without them, and she is not a pretty age."

In mourning, no lace or embroidery was placed on children's pantalets, they had three deep tucks for trimming, or bands of crape. Fancy a little girl in crape-bordered pantalets! In general, the material was the same as the frock, especially if the frock were cotton. Sometimes dark-colored pantalets were used for everyday wear, and white for Sunday. We have a letter of a tender grandfather, Judge Saint George Tucker, — a step-grandfather at that, — written in 1807, telling of his interest in the new dress for little girls, and his eagerness that his young grandchildren should adopt the latest fashion. His fine face is upon an earlier page. He wrote to his daughter a masterly description of the dress of the child of President Monroe: —

"Your mama has refer'd you to me for an account of little Maria Munroe who is, I believe, a few months older than our darling Fancilea. She was dress'd in a short frock that reach'd about half way between her knees and ankles, under which she display'd a pair of loose pantaloons, wide enough for the foot to pass through with ease, frilld around with the same stuff as her frock and pantaloons. I was so pleas'd with it and so convinced you would immediately adopt it for Fancilea and Lisba, that I took more than ordinary notice of it. The little monkey did not fail to know the advantages of her dress. She had a small

Spaniel dog with whom she was continually engaged in a trial of skill, and the general opinion seemed to be that she turned and twisted about more than the Spaniel."

The teachings of Rousseau brought about a distinctive boys' garb in France, and Marie Antoinette was one of the first to dress her son, the little dauphin, in round jackets and trousers, instead of the formal knee-breeches and brocaded coat and waistcoat boys had hitherto worn.

I do not know precisely when little French boys put on trousers. The Wertmuller portrait of Marie Antoinette with her two children, now in the Royal Gallery at Stockholm, shows her walking in the garden at Trianon with the dauphin — apparently about five years old, in trousers and jacket with open ruffled neck. The portrait by Madame le Brun (now at Versailles) shows the dauphin in similar trousers; this was painted in 1787.

Old portraits and the illustrations of books show how quickly these notions spread, both in France and America.

John Jay was minister at the court of Louis XVI, and his wife on her return to America must have brought the height of the modes to eager New Yorkers. It is said that the change in boys' dress was one of these fashions. Her own boy certainly wore trousers, as may be seen in this portrait of him.

All accounts of Mrs. Jay tell us of a face and figure as queenly as Marie Antoinette's, and of still greater beauty. We all know the engraving of her

Mrs. John Jay and Children. About 1800.

head in straw hat tied down with a kerchief. I have always believed this engraving a wholly inadequate expression of her beauty and charm — but when the original of this head is seen in this portrait group of herself with her two children, it will be found even less pleasing than the engraving. As a study of costume the picture is most interesting; as a work of art it is valueless. The artist was Robert Edge Pine. Peale says he drew his heads from life, but made no study of figure. So when he arranged his final portraits he might put the head of a fat man on a slim body, and *vice versa.* His pictures were a total failure — some were even ridiculous. We know, of course, that this portrait does not give the face nor the figure nor the carriage of the beautiful Mrs. Jay. I may add that I have never seen any painting of Pine's that had the slightest art value. There is a tradition that the coloring of his portraits was fine — but color is of slight value in a portrait compared to drawing.

These first trousers for boys were often a garment of frills; they were tucked, embroidered, and even ruffled; a favored fashion was to draw them in with a puckering-string at the ankle.

An excellent delineation of the dress of a boy at this time is shown in the charming picture of the Stoddert children, painted by Charles Willson Peale. The boy's suit is of nankeen, and the trousers are gathered at the ankle with drawing-strings into a frill. This painting gives a bit of Georgetown life, and was doubtless painted in Bostock House. There is typical Potomac scenery in the background.

The three children are Elizabeth, who married Dr. Thomas Ewell; the boy, Benjamin Forrest Stoddert, and the baby Harriet. Their father was Benjamin Stoddert, appointed Secretary of the Naval Bureau in May, 1798, — the first Secretary of the Navy. This picture must have been painted about 1796. The baby Harriet grew into a lovely girl, the friend of Marcia Burns Van Ness, whose face in youth and in age is given in this book. In a delightful costume of orange-colored Canton crape, Harriet Stoddert so entranced the head of the Turkish Legation that he promptly asked her at first sight to become one of his wives. She was married in 1812 to George Washington Campbell of Tennessee. He had wounded a Mr. Gardenhire in a duel. The injured man was carried into the house of Mrs. Stoddert's grandfather, Bostock House, and was there carefully nursed. Mr. Campbell rode out every day to inquire for his foe, and fell in love as promptly as the Turkish minister. A few years later Mr. Campbell became minister to Russia, where his three little children died of some infantile epidemic at the same time that the emperor Alexander lost his only surviving child. Mutual sorrow of the distressed mothers for each other led to an intimacy, and the little girl who came to comfort the mourning American parents was named Liszinka for her imperial godmother. A portrait of Mrs. Campbell, painted in Russia, shows a beautiful but sad face, little like the rosy-cheeked baby in this illustration.

The Stoddert Children

# CHAPTER XXXIII

## EMPIRE FASHIONS

"*I'm not denyin' the women are foolish; God Almighty made 'em to match the men.*"

— "Adam Bede," George Eliot.

# CHAPTER XXXIII

## EMPIRE FASHIONS

HE Empire was proclaimed in 1804; but the short waist which has become associated with that name had been already worn.

An affected revulsion of feeling against the costly stuffs of the eighteenth century made simpler materials popular for wear even in full dress. Mantua-makers adhered also to plain lines, and less material was used in the manufacture of gowns. The skirt was short, reaching in meagre, clinging folds only to the feet, with but slight flouncing at the lower edge. It was stretched as tightly as possible across the front of the figure, sometimes held across with whalebones placed horizontally. Through the absence of pressure on any part of the figure the dress was far more conducive to health in its shape than in its warmth or weight.

The best-known name in the history of these fashions is Madame Récamier. An English lady describes the dress she wore in the Kensington Gardens, London, in 1802. "She appeared *à l'antique*, her muslin dress clinging to her form like the folds of drapery on a statue, her hair in a plait in the back and falling in small ringlets over her face, and

greasy with *huile antique*, a large veil thrown over her head." The last sentence offers some amelioration for the *huile antique*. We can endure the leaders of fashion bare-footed, with rings on their toes, and with tunics cut up at the side of the skirt even to the belt; we can forgive the absence of chemises; we can overlook many deficiencies of decency, rather than the presence of *huile antique* — it is a little too classical. Since I have known of the *huile*, I seem to see it greasing her face from her dripping ringlets in every portrait of her I encounter.

Dolly Madison in Youth.

I have examined with much interest the winter numbers of *La Belle Assemblée* and the *Lady's Magazine* of the early years of the nineteenth century, and the chief emotion is that any of our grandmothers survived those years, so lightly were they dressed. In January, 1807, the walking-dresses were of white jaconet muslin or cambric, with brown velvet or "orange-blossom" shoes. The hat was of straw or tiger fur. Another favorite was a "Chinese robe" of India twill or French dimity

trimmed with a border of tambour, with loose back or scalloped at the bottom. White kid and rose-colored silk low shoes were worn, with silver rosettes, and variegated sarcenet silk "cottage cloaks" pretended to give warmth. In the spring pink muslin mantles appeared. But in general the neck and portions of the arms were left bare, even for outdoor wear, hence a scarf became a grateful adjunct to the scanty toilet.

One old lady tells me she often went to church in winter in a French cambric gown, with a shawl but a yard square as the only outdoor covering. The wife of Governor Joseph Trumbull remembered riding from Middletown, Connecticut, to Berlin in an open sleigh one bitter winter's night, in an organdy gown, low-necked and sleeveless, her only extra covering a cloth cape without lining. That fell curse of New England — consumption — was nourished and increased by this scanty dress. A rhyme of the day begins: —

> "Plump and rosy was my face
> And graceful was my form;
> Till fashion deemed it a disgrace
> To keep my body warm."

When cloth was announced for gowns in 1828, a writer in the *Lady's Magazine* urges the readers never to wear them indoors, as they "were not a fireside costume."

All the underwear worn with the scanty empire gowns was of slight texture, close cut, and consisted of very few pieces. Especially with the antique

models was it necessary to abandon ample or thick underclothing. Thus wrote a rhymester of the day: —

> "Many, filled 'tis said with pride,
> Have laid their underclothes aside;
> Such healthful dress they do dispise,
> And naught but gauze and muslin prize."

In a letter dated February 17, 1812, Miss Morris wrote of Madame Bonaparte, who had been Miss Patterson of Baltimore: —

"I never beheld a human form so faultless. To the utmost symmetry of feature is added so much vivacity, such captivating sweetness; and her sylphic form thinly veiled displays all the graces of a Venus de Medici. She appears particularly in a fine crepe robe of a beautiful azure color interwoven with silver; in this attire she is truly celestial, and it is impossible to look on anyone else when she is present."

A contemporary description of her dress at her marriage runs thus: —

"All the clothes worn by the bride might have been put in my pocket. Her dress was of muslin richly embroidered, of extremely fine texture. Beneath her dress she wore but a single garment."

It was told that this beautiful but certainly reckless young woman, going to the extreme of French modes, wore no chemise. But this daring fashion lasted even in Paris but a single week. A certain little demure scrap of mull used as a tucker was

Dolly Madison.

known as a "modesty" or a "modesty bit"; and a satirical poem of the day ran thus: —

"And where their bosoms you do view
The truth I do declare, O!
A modesty they all must have
If ne'er a smock they wear, O!"

The miniature of Madame Bonaparte painted by Jean Baptiste Augustine, is one of the least-clad

portraits I have ever seen, either French or American. There is so little a waist-portion to the dress, so slight in extent, so slight in weight, — merely a tiny scrap of organdy an inch or so wide, and very loosely applied, — not fixed on the person. Another tapelike scrap hangs out from the arm halfway down to the elbow, carrying out (if it had a waist) what might be termed the line of the belt. This scrap of mull of Madame Patterson Bonaparte might well be called an immodesty bit. She is seated — and apparently had to be; for the moment Madame Bonaparte stood up, that empire gown would certainly fall to the ground; it was half fallen as she was seated.

The "chemise dress," well named, was a favorite form for day wear, and was equally proper for evening dress. It was shaped precisely like a sack-chemise, and was seldom fuller than the ordinary French-gored chemise of our present underwear. It was also of similar material, thin linen lawn, or sheer percale, and was no more trimmed at the neck and sleeves, though the skirt might be scantily flounced.

A magazine declared that the "chemise-dress must be made tight to form of bosom, drawn very low at each corner of neck and worn with crooked pearl slide to separate the bosom." A very vulgar-looking accessory consisted of a golden net confining the breast.

One of these chemise-dresses, and not an extreme one, is shown in these pages. Both figures would appear to us more properly garbed for bed than for the opera.

Opera Dress of Mother and Daughter. 1808.

In the years 1805–10 a one-sided effect was much sought after in dress as in hair-dressing. In one case the top of one boot only was turned over

to show a fur edging. With the thin robes one garter was ordered, a beribboned and buckled garter, proving plainly that garters did not blush unseen, but peeped out shyly — or boldly for all we know — through a cloud of gauze or mull. A one-sided, irregular garment may be graceful; it must not be a studied irregularity; it must appear to be accidental. The directions to wearers of these modes, to hold a certain corner of the garment in one hand, to catch the corner of a scarf to the girdle by a bit of the fringe "lightly yet firmly," all savor too much of strained effect. Mantles and manteaus were all one-sided. These sentences are taken from English fashion-notes of the year 1807: —

"In the Danish mantle the left arm is confined in a long loose sleeve, the back is fulled on the right shoulder leaving simply an armhole. The mantle on the left side reaches to the bottom of the dress."

"A Cardinal is draped to form a hood on one side and hangs in loose drapery on the other. One corner is rounded off small and must be held in one hand."

"French cloak of white floss net fulled into a narrow band of lilack sarsenet fashioned high on left shoulder with strips of sarsenet and tassels."

"Mantle of orange and purple velvet with but one armhole, the right side rounded down from neck in a long point. Trimmed all round with spotted leopard fur."

Even the skirts of gowns were of uneven length on either side, being very deep on right side always, while the left was made shorter either by being looped up or slashed up very sharply. Sometimes the sleeve of the robe was opened up to the arm-

Mrs. Richard C. Derby as Saint Cecilia.

scye. I find no reference to a petticoat being worn under this open tunic, which, I must say frankly, is precisely like the most severely reprehended dress of one of our modern spectacular plays; a dress that was finally discarded in deference to public opinion. Yet this robe was worn calmly by our discreet and proper great-grandmothers.

Perhaps the wearer could not have stepped in the gown had it not been thus slashed. I have seen these robes brought out of old trunks in staid New England homes — gowns of fine organdie or mull, scant, with a narrow tail-like train; so low necked that they were indeed incroyable; slit up at one side nearly to the waist. One was a wedding-gown of a parson's wife; it was like Madame Bonaparte's. A certain "sheath" slip was worn under this outer cobweb — desperately immodest attire, it would seem to us to-day. Two of these old, scant, narrow-tailed gowns were chosen last summer for wear at a fancy-dress party. They were exquisitely fine and beautiful. Though our modern underclothing was of course added to the "sheath slip," and a deep tucker was sewn into the neck, yet when the evening came, and the robes were put on, neither young girl who was to wear one could make her mind up to appear thus clad. The gowns were really far from proper wear, according to our present estimates. Still, the short-waisted empire gowns could be very charming. Two exquisite portraits given in this book show the simple empire dress at its best; one is of the lovely woman who was known in her Boston home as "the beautiful Mrs.

Derby." She was twenty-two years old in 1806, when this portrait was painted. She is seated at a

A Ferronnière and Turban Pins.

harp, and is painted as Saint Cecilia in order to show to advantage her perfect eyes and arms. Her

Mrs. John Ridgely. 1805. By Sully.

dress still exists. It is of finest white mull, or India muslin, and is edged with a band of gold embroidery; it is buttoned on the sleeve with gold buttons.

The second portrait shows an equally graceful figure standing by a harp. This is the beautiful Eliza Ridgely, who married John Ridgely, who was not related to her; the ancestor of each came to Maryland in the seventeenth century, unknown to the other. This portrait is deemed Sully's masterpiece. It hangs in the great hall at Hampton, the Ridgely mansion-house in Baltimore County, Maryland.

One graceful ornament was just being revived into popularity in 1820; I mean the ferronnière, or band around the head, from which depended a jewel in the middle of the forehead. Pearls and rubies were favorite stones. A well-known portrait of the wife of President Tyler has this ferronnière. It gives to every countenance a curiously submissive look, as if the jewel were hung on a slave. It was originally an Oriental fashion, but had been most popular in France in the seventeenth century. The ferronnière was generally a fine gold Venetian chain, but might be made of velvet ribbon, of silken cord, of strings of beads, or tiny vines of artificial flowers.

# CHAPTER XXXIV

## THE ROMANCE OF OLD CLOTHES

"*Dress does make a difference, Davy.*"

—"Bob Acres," in *The Rivals*, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, 1775.

# CHAPTER XXXIV

## THE ROMANCE OF OLD CLOTHES

OLD portraits, old letters, and old garments! these bring us very close to those who have been gone for centuries. Here is the modest, girlish wardrobe of Caria Robbins; the outfit made for her when she went from her country home to visit in the growing city of New York. It was in 1812, a five or six days' journey by coach. It might be a day shorter if one went to Providence by coach and then by boat on the Sound. I have a diary kept during a trip made from New York to Newport on a passenger sloop, by a great-grandfather and his family, in 1780. It took eight days.

Caria — I like to say her pretty name — was the youngest girl in the family of Stephen and Abigail Robbins of West Lexington, that pleasant and historic old Massachusetts town. She was born in 1794, and was therefore eighteen years of age when she made this visit. The wardrobe which she had for her journey has been wonderfully preserved. She never married, and of course we fancy there was a romance and a reason for her single life. There certainly was in her youth a favored lover. I like to think that the romance was connected with this

trip to New York, and that it affords a reason why this special set of garments was saved, and so little worn — while innumerable dresses of other years went the way of gowns in general. She died when over eighty years old, but she will never be remembered as a feeble, withered old woman; she lives in cheerful, pretty girlhood forever, through the power of her salmon-pink and sea-green finery.

Gown, Hat, and Slippers worn by Caria Robbins.

Here is a charming little scant tamboured India muslin, labelled in her own hand-writing, "The Dress I made to walk down Broadway in." This, like all the thin mull and muslin gowns of the day, is too poorly represented by photography to be worth reproducing.

Here, on this page, is one of her simple gowns that she carried to New York, with hat and slippers that matched. The dress is salmon-pink lutestring, a favorite color and favorite stuff of the day. The hat is sea-green silk edged with blond-lace and trimmed with salmon-pink and white ribbons. The white silk stockings

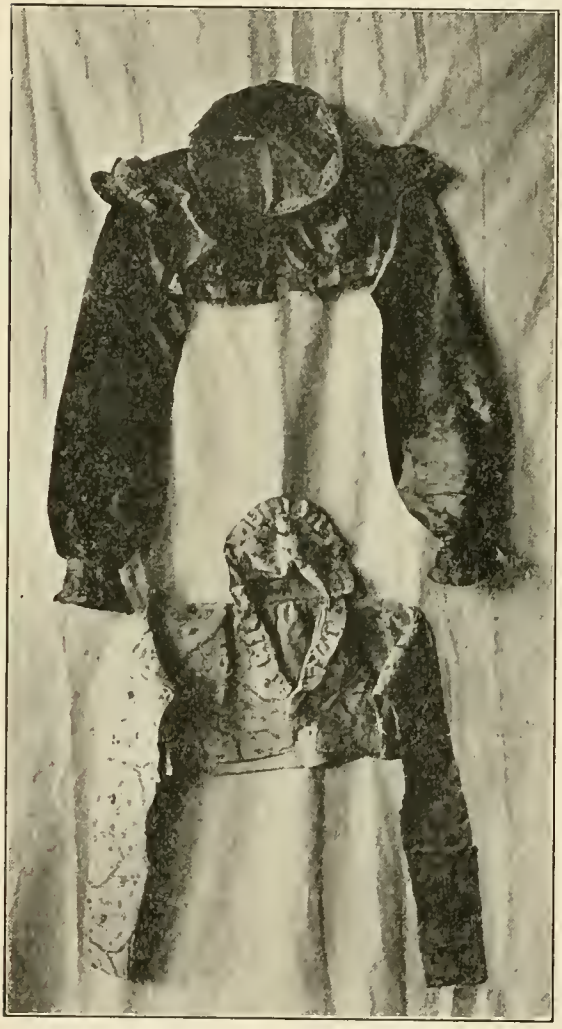
and mitts, and a charming salmon-pink gauze shawl, with a stamped black and white border, have been kept always with the dress. The little flat slippers are salmon-pink kid. They were bought in Boston, "Near the Old South Meeting House." A tiny label says, "Rips mended Gratis."

Plum-colored Kid Mitts worn by Mrs. Robbins.

Another page bears the sea-green silk spencer that was worn with the silk gown and hat. Another spencer for morning wear is of brown and white cotton chintz. The spencer may be called the characteristic garment of this quarter of a century. Every fashion-bulletin from the year 1800 to 1830 has a reference to spencers. Here is one fashion-note for the year 1803: —

"Spencers are worn both for walking and carriage dress. Levantines, spotted silks, and striped lutestrings are the favorite materials. The trimming is always satin. The Augusta spencer is one of the prettiest dress spencers. The waist is finished with tabs cut in the form of leaves. In velvet spencers, black, purple, and bottle green are favorite colors. The velvet is cut byas. Perkale dresses are

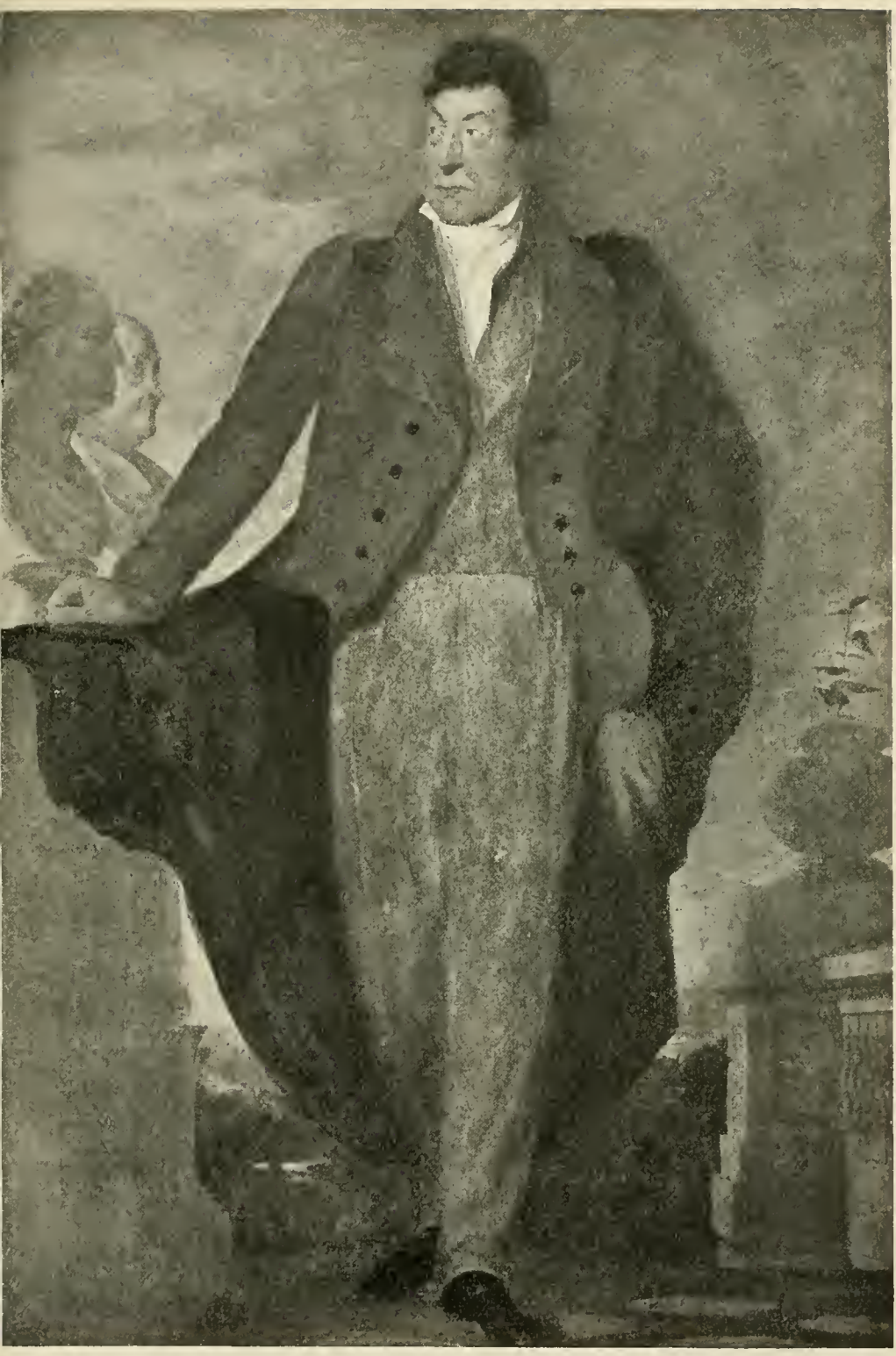
worn with these (December). Pelisses called Carricks are worn trimmed with swan's down and steel."



Spencers worn by Caria Robbins.

The Persian spencer was much recommended and was termed commendable because it "demands a correct neatness of the robe with which it is worn, as well as a delicate and chaste attention to the decoration of the foot and leg." As the spencer was always cut short at the waist, I cannot understand why it had any special trend upon the dress of the foot and leg. Nor should I think neatness specially indispensable to this Persian form of garment.

I copy in this chapter two fashion-plates from *Ackermann's Repository* for February, 1816. These seem to me very elegant dresses, "quite the jant,"



Marquis de Lafayette. 1824.

as the editor of that publication says of them. One, a spencer of dark mulberry velvet, has what is termed a "half-sleeve" of puffed satin with white silk balls which are duplicated in the trimming on the edge of the petticoat, on the bonnet, and in the shoe-knots. The great white satin and swan's-down muff is called a Roxburgh muff. Half-sleeves or epaulettes were worn with many of these spencers. White velvet spencers trimmed with swan's-down were elegant indeed. Purple and orange was a favorite combination of color in spencers; with this, coral ornaments, writes one fashion-monger.

Swan's-down Stole. Brought from Russia in 1800.

The spencer has an interesting origin. It was originally a man's coat, a short, scant top-coat, not so long as the wearer's body-coat, and often sleeveless; a very skimpy, pinched garment, invented by Lord Spencer at about the same time that Lord

Sandwich invented a form of food which would be nourishing and could be eaten quickly and conveniently while he was at the gambling-table. An English rhyme ran: —

"Two noble lords, whom if I quote
Some folks might call me sinner,
The one invented half a coat,
The other half a dinner.

"The plan was good, as some will say,
And fitted to console one,
Because in this poor starving day
Few can afford a whole one."

Lord Spencer made a bet with Sir Edward Chetwynd that he could set a fashion which would be adopted as a ruling mode within six months. This should be a form of dress wholly meaningless and unnecessary. Spencer called for a pair of shears, cut off the entire tails of the long coat he was wearing, put on the unhemmed, unfinished garment, and went out for a stroll. He was a handsome, dashing man; and in three days several young men were seen in the streets wearing similar "spencers." In two weeks all London was wearing the garment; and in two months all England, men, women, and children; and in scarcely less time all America.

English people have ever had a fancy for short jackets, and the longing was not wholly filled after the loss of the beloved jerkin and doublet, until we had the spencer. Since the day of the spencer, men have not been able to carry out that notion, unless the dinner coat may be given as a half-fulfilment.

Women have had zouaves, and Spanish jackets, and Eton coats, and boleros, and various short spencer-like garments.

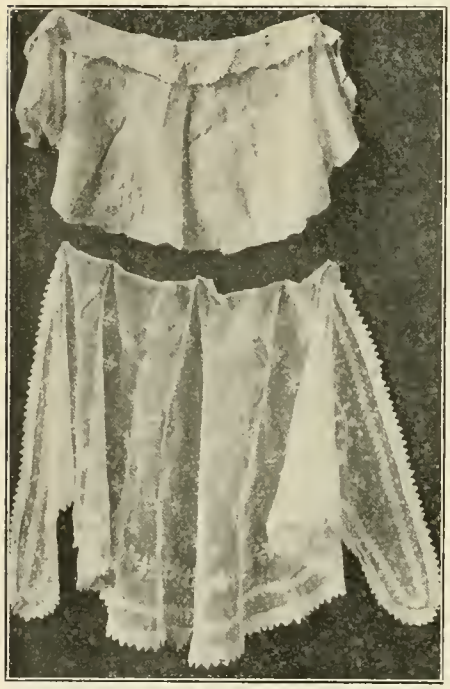
This bet must have taken place in 1792, for there is a caricature of Earl Spencer by Gillray, published in May, 1792, in which the earl wears a blue spencer; below which show the tails of a red coat with brass buttons.

about 1800.

Walking Costumes with Muffs and Spencers.

The climax of interest in American life in the year 1824 was the visit of Lafayette in his old age to the scene of his career of sentiment and love of liberty in early life. I have told in another chapter of the romantic affection and hero-worship which all Americans held for him. The garments which he wore on this memorable visit may fitly close this record of the masculine dress of two centuries. Blue coat with brass buttons and rather wide nankeen trousers are well depicted in his portrait by

Professor Morse of telegraph fame; the dress he wore at the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument, when Daniel Webster delivered his memorable oration. The dress worn by Mrs. Webster at this great occasion has been preserved in her portrait (reproduced facing this page). In it she wears a pearl-gray silk hat and gown. Her costume is not only rich, but thoroughly elegant, and in the full height not only of the best American, but the best French fashions which succeeded the empire modes. The hat is the shape known as the Restauration. No elegante of the Champs Élysées wore a more distinctive hat than this of Mrs. Webster's. A younger woman might have added an ostrich plume to the bow of ribbon, but it would be in no better style. This costume may (as fitly as that of Lafayette for men), close the series of women's gowns of two centuries.



Embroidered Linen and Lace Capes.

As I turn from one picture to another in these volumes they speak with clearer voice than do the printed pages, telling many and varied stories. They remind me of friends who have shared with

1824.

Mrs. Daniel Webster. 1824.

me the ownership of cherished family portraits; they speak of thoughtful helpers who have gathered far and wide for me; they tell of happy journeys to see the portraits, the clogs, the spencers; to read old diaries, old letters, old news; they lead me along pleasant ways by New England roads and lanes to old New England homes.

There is written "between the lines" of these pages *The Romance of Old Clothes.* Memory and sentiment give to many of the pictures both an æsthetic and a spiritual value. What harmless jealousies, what gentle vanities, what modest hopes linger in the folds of these pictured garments! They have other threads than that warp and woof which makes them silk or homespun. I recall the old dim garret and the rarely opened hair trunks and cedar chests where I found many of them. These yellowed mull baby dresses and linen shirts, what heartaches do they figure, for they are unworn! But they cannot touch the tenderest depth of sympathy, as do these faded red morocco shoes; for these are worn to shabbiness with the many little pattering footsteps that ran eagerly and trustingly after the young mother, but suddenly followed her no more. And here is the bride's bonnet-veil; home worked, it hung long and narrow, giving glimpses of her blushing face as she walked proudly up the aisle of the old church on the coming-out Sunday. The veil was the frailest thing in her bridal outfit, but it has outlasted her substantial dress.

Here is the boy's first suit of "boughten" cloth, which he had when he went to college. This

suit and the standing iron candlestand with long-handled fire-shovel and tongs, that were forged for him by the village blacksmith, were the chief glories of his outfit. The cut and make of the garments show that Miss Polly Patten, the town tailoress, fashioned them, and upon the same principles that the smith used in making the candlestand, broad at the base, with legs well spread, the arms firmly fastened and standing out squarely — made in every part to last forever; both have done so. Here is the satin court-suit which the boy wore in London when he was grown middle-aged, and full of cares and dignities. The silk is faded, the tinsel is rusted, but his elderly sister at home on the farm is proud to keep it. Here is the cloak of the younger brother; he went to college, full of eager ambitions, when the red leaves turned in autumn. He was drowned through heedless skating on the first thin November ice. His mother folded this cloak, and pinned an old sheet around it, and marked it "John's Last Cloak." You can feel a pang in your heart for her, though she joined her boy fifty years ago, and perhaps understands at last why a life so needful, so noble, and, above all, so full of the simple joy of existing, was ended so early.

Old letters and old garments bring us in close touch with the past; there is in them a lingering presence, a very essence of life. Here the hand pressed that held the pen; here it lingered in dainty stitches. The very substance of these garments, spun and woven ere cheating makeshifts were known, seems true and good. These rich brocades, these

The Romance of Old Clothes.

bits of cherished laces, tell of the gathered egg-money or petty legacy sent across seas to France for bridal finery; these India muslins speak of the home garden's tribute of sage or the wildwood's unwilling yield of ginseng, which journeyed on a venture to far Cathay under the judgment of the supercargo, that obsolete officer who was in old-time trade what might be termed a commercial neighbor. And some are homespun. There still clings to the firm all-wool stuff, unfaded hand-stamped calico, the lustrous homespun linen, something of the vitality of the enduring women who raised the wool, the cotton, the flax, even the silk; who prepared each for the wheel by many exhausting labors; who spun the yarn and thread, and wove the warp and woof; who bleached and dyed; who cut and sewed these ancient garments. All these honest stuffs, with their quaint fashionings, render them a true expression of old-time life; and their impalpable and finer beauty through sentiment puts me truly in touch with the life of my forbears.

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